

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"I have nothing to propound to your Lordships by way of request or desire, from the House of Commons. I doubt not but your judgments will tell you what is to be done; your consciences, your honours, your interests, will call upon you for the doing of it. The Commons will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving of the kingdom; but if they fail of it, it shall not discourage them in doing their duty. And whether the kingdom be lost or saved (but I hope through God's blessing it will be saved), they shall be sorry that the story of this present Parliament should tell posterity, that in so great a danger and extremity, the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the Peers should have no part in the honour of the preservation of it;—having so great an interest in the good success of those endeavours, in respect of their great estates and high degrees of nobility."—Pym's Address to the Lords when deputed to them by the Commons, in the reign of CHARLES I.

## TO THE LORDS.

### LETTER I.

Kensington, 11th August, 1831.

MY LORDS,

THE great matter of speculation which at this moment agitates the country, is, whether your Lordships, whether the House of Lords, will throw out the Reform Bill, after it has passed the Commons. Some think that you will; some think that you will not: all those who live, without meriting it, on the sweat of the people's brow, wish you to do it; and as men generally believe that that will take place which they wish to take place, these persons confidently expect that you will do it, and they exult in that expectation.

But this tribe, though very numerous, including their relations and dependents; besides those who are in possession of public pay of one sort or another; besides those who have places, pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances, contracts, half-pay, and besides all the numerous tribes living on the tithes and other church revenues; the whole of whom, from the greatest to the least, see something in reform; something which makes them apprehend the arrival of that dire moment, when they shall have inflicted on them that at which they tremble, as the guilty sick man does when the solemn physician first pronounces in his ears the word death. In short, they see the near arrival of that dreadful moment when they shall be compelled to *work honestly for their bread*; or, if they have property of their own, to confine their spendings within the limits of that property: besides these tribes who are in possession, who are idling, guzzling, and gormandising at the expense of the industrious and laborious people, there are other tribes still more numerous, those of the expectants. For every one who is in possession, there are two or three who want to be in possession; so that these tribes all put together are a multitudinous body; and as they have nothing else to do, they write and talk and clamour incessantly. To these is to be added the stupid part of the fundholders, and that part is a very large one, stupidity, generally speaking, being the cause of their being fundholders.

Numerous, however, as these tribes are, they are nothing when put in the balance against those who create all the resources of the nation, who carry on all its mighty affairs, who make the ships go from one country to another, who bring the means of strength from the bowels of the earth, who convert the almost apparently worthless raw material into things precious in point of value, who make all the buildings, the bridges, and the roads, and particu-

larly are all these tribes nothing in point of importance, not to the feather when put in the balance, against those who till the land, and who cause to come all that we eat, all that we drink, all that we wear, all that covers us by day and that shelters us by night.

There is, therefore, no comparison between the two descriptions of persons. These last mentioned constitute the strength of the nation; while the tribes before mentioned are the vermin of different descriptions, which have hitherto been suffered to exist and to fatten on its tormented and wasted body. The tribes of vermin, however, keep up an incessant clamour against reform. Until the last elections had produced that result which did so much honour to the people, the vermin relied on the House of Commons for protection. That prop having failed them, in spite of the joint efforts of Corruption's sons and the LIAR, the vermin now look to the House of Lords as their last desperate resource. They affect to be full of confidence; affect to have no doubt; affect to believe, using the words of a half-mad champion of their cause, that the bill will not be *thrown* out of the Lords, but *kicked* out. The people hear this with perfect contempt, and that contempt they would express, even if the foolish stuff were to come from the lips of one of your Lordships. The people know that they must triumph in the end; and that opposition will only render their triumph the more complete. They, therefore, ask the vermin how they can be so senseless as to rest their hopes on the rejection of the bill on the part of the Lords; and then they further ask them, whether they be so blind as not to perceive that the Lords, by openly arraying themselves against the whole nation, would incur the great risk of being dealt with by that nation in a manner which, speaking to persons of your Lordships' quick-sightedness, I do not think it necessary to describe.

Alas! this argument has no weight with any of the vermin: it is useless to tell them that a rejection on the part of the Lords would produce convulsion, confusion, anarchy, and all their conse-

quences. This is no argument to work upon them. Some years ago, when HUSKISSON, CANNING, ELLIOT, and that tribe, including some that I might name, and that I will not name just at present: at that time, some one (I forget whom) had addressed an argument to Canning, the object of which was to show that if he were, as he pretended to be, so sincere a friend of the crown and the aristocracy, he ought to be for a Parliamentary Reform; for that, unless a reform took place, destruction would come upon the whole frame of the Government. "Well," said I, in answer to this, "and *what is that to Canning!* What is that *to Canning.*" Nothing at all would it have been to Canning, who, if reform took place, knew that he must be *compelled to go to work*; knew that his sinecure would be taken away from him, and the pension from his mother and sister; knew that he must become a writer, if not a singer, of ballads, as well as Huskisson knew that he must again become an apothecary, or a clerk in a counting-house. What terrors, therefore, could these fellows see in the alternative which was held out to frighten them? To them, reform had more terrors than a total breaking up of the frame of the Government; because not only was reform, if it took place, nearest to them; but as the boiling of the political pot is sure to bring some scum to the top for a while, in such a boiling they had a *chance*, at any rate; while, in reform, a just and peaceable reform, they saw the inevitable compulsion to *work for their bread*, which, say philosophers what they please about the causes of corruption, speculation, and oppression, is the great cause of them all.

The vermin of the present day have just the same apprehensions that such fellows as CANNING and HUSKISSON had, and argue in precisely the same manner. They pretend to believe that reform would produce anarchy and confusion; so it will, *amongst them*: that it would produce a *destruction of property*, and make those that are now rich, poor men: so it will, if pensions



and sinecures and unmerited pay be property; and it certainly will make poor men of those who are rich from these sources. BURDETT once said of CANNING, in a letter which he wrote in one of his bold fits, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib;" and then he went on to observe that CANNING might be fairly presumed to possess instinctive discernment equal to that of the ox or the ass, and that therefore he imputed no blame to him on account of his sticking to the crib. This was a nice clean hit; it left the mark, and made the bawling upstart smart. But BURDETT struck the blow when the bold fit was on him: he wanted some of that sticking stuff which made CANNING cling to the crib; for when CANNING sent him word that he must declare that he meant no *personal* affront to him, or fight him, he had *no hesitation* in making the declaration! So that we have learned that, amongst these honourable gentlemen, for one to compare another to an ass, and to say that that other advocates a cause, not from his conviction of its goodness, but because he gains by it, is by no means personal. Notwithstanding, however, the settling of this important point in this curious manner, the vermin that I have above spoken of have the crib, and the crib only, in view; and I might as well reason with my two cows as with these vermin. I might as well endeavour to persuade them not to come to the crib, lest their coming to it should endanger a parcel of chickens that are running round it and under it, as to persuade these people to be friends to reform lest the want of reform should overthrow the whole of the Government: I might as well try thus to persuade these cows, as to prevail upon these vermin to wish the Lords not to reject the Reform Bill, lest the rejection should prove destruction to the Lords themselves: their answer would be, What is the destruction of the Lords to us? The reform is sure to take from us the crib: it is the crib we want; and if that be taken from us, what care we about the Lords? What to us are all the consequences

which you anticipate from the rejection of the bill?

They are very right; the vermin are perfectly right; the consequences of the rejection can be nothing to them; but that they would be something *to your Lordships*, I will now endeavour to convince you. I am well aware that it will be very difficult to do this; because all your channels of information are the vermin; all the arguments you hear come from the vermin; all the opinions that are tendered to you proceed from the vermin. It is curious to observe the total difference that there is at this time in the whole set of ideas entertained by the aristocracy, generally speaking, and those entertained by the people at large. When certain expressions; certain haughty and scornful and contemptuous expressions escape the former, when speaking of this bill and of the reform of the parliament, men in general look upon the speakers as being absolutely *mad*. They do not reflect that these speakers really know nothing at all of the thoughts, the words and the intentions of the people; they do not reflect that these seemingly haughty speakers never converse with, never correspond with, never hear or see a word from any soul living except *from one another, from their several dependents, or from the vermin*. A man's thoughts must arise from what he sees and hears; from thoughts come words, and words (except with men like BURDETT) are generally the forerunner of actions. Therefore, a man who never sees, never hears the truth, may still be sane, while, to the whole nation, he appears to be a madman. Besides the habitual intercourse of their lives, which naturally keeps at a great distance from these haughty speakers everything at all savouring of independence and sincerity; besides this, these men have generally a strong desire to cherish the acquaintanceship and society of those who flatter them. So that they live in the midst of a great nation without knowing any thing at all of its feelings or its desires. The greater part of them divide their time between their mansions in the country and the

west end of the Wen. At the former they see nobody but their steward, their various menials, who stand with their hats off before them in the rain, half pay-officers and parsons, in whom they find servility equal to the former, though a little varied in form; and, with their ears filled with maledictions against reform, from this servile tribe, back they gallop again to the Wen, where they again see and hear one another, and have another crowd of servile creatures to flatter them, and to urge them on to deeds of desperation against the people. If they would only stop at the inns as they come along, and ask the innkeepers, though they are, in general, apt to bow pretty low; but, if they would but ask them what they thought would be the consequence of the Lords rejecting the Reform Bill, they would learn something, at any rate. I have indeed heard of one haughty upstart in the North of England, who sends forward orders to the posting-houses, to have the entrance of the inn clear, that no other person may be in the door-way or passage while he enters, and that nobody may stand round the inn-door to look at him. It is said, and even in the county where he resides, that he has had recesses constructed in the passages of his house, in order that the servants who happen to be in a situation to meet him in the passage, may pop into a recess, and that he may thus avoid coming in contact with their persons. All this is said of him, and all this I believe. Speaking of them generally, they do not carry pride to this beastly extent; and some of them, and, I hope, many, are sensible, gentle, kind and affable men; but there has risen up, within the last forty years, a new set of manners, a totally new demeanour in the nobility towards the common people, and particularly towards the working part of them, the rural part of whom they have got to call *peasantry*, and have obtained a plentiful supply of their hatred in exchange.

The long war, the barracks, the inland fortresses, the immense standing army in time of peace, the great navy,

kept up, apparently, for no useful purpose; the military and naval academies; the enormous establishments of every description, have given them an ample and everlasting supply of eating and drinking and talking companions. These complaisant knights and generals and admirals and colonels and captains; these genteel feeders upon the public wealth, have come to supply the place of those independent country gentlemen who were the companions of their fathers and grandfathers; so that all the notions they imbibe are military and naval; every thing is to be done by word of command, and every remedy is to consist of coercion of some sort or other: the Government is totally changed in every thing but name and form, and the connexion and communication between the nobility and the industrious classes of the people are completely destroyed; and, along with them, all the good feelings and all that cement of society to which they gave rise. The nobility have not been able wholly to disconnect themselves from the immediate renters of their estates; but they have studiously, by throwing four or five farms into one, made this circle as small as possible, and have created a new race of men, who are not farmers, but a sort of gamblers in grain and cattle, and have as little connexion with the working people as the nobility themselves, except that they are so many oppressors of that most valuable of all the classes of the nation; and these great monopolists of farming are the very last men in the world from whom noblemen are to expect to get a word of truth as to the real situation of the country.

So that, here are these lords, living in England, knowing no more about their opinions or their designs than they know of the opinions and designs of the people in Persia. They never see or hear an independent man; that is to say, a man who does not know or who does not believe that a reform of the Parliament would take from him a part, if not the whole, of what he has to live on. I wish one of the lords who is a borough-proprietor, or who is well known



to be decidedly hostile to the Reform Bill, would begin and make a memorandum upon this subject for every day in this month of August (and I strongly recommend each of these lords to do it), the result of the memorandum being to furnish answers to the following questions :

1. How many men have I spoken to, on the subject of politics this month ?
2. Has every one of them distinctly and vehemently expressed his hostility to the Reform Bill ?
3. Is there any one of them who does not, in whole or in part, live upon money derived from taxes or from tithes ; or who is not a loan-monger or fundholder interested in upholding the taxing system ; or who is not my own menial, or my borough-slave ?

The answer to the first question is, of course, uncertain ; but, if truth did not answer the second question in the affirmative, and the third question in the negative, I would suffer my flesh to be pinched from my bones by red-hot pincers. Now, my Lords, I pray you to consider this matter, then : make the memorandum, let each of you put these questions to himself honestly : let him answer them to himself, and if you all find that you have had no one single pair of independent lips opened in your presence, will you still be such fools as to believe that the selfish creatures with whom you conversed, and who must be ruined by reform, are safe guides for you in this case ; for you, to whom the reform cannot possibly do harm, if you give your consent to it in a gracious manner ?

Look well and candidly at your present situation, and compare it with the situation of your grandfathers. They were not indeed loaded with the public money ; they had not troops of Knight's Grand Crosses, Knights of the Guelphic Order, knights companions to follow at their heels : they were not generals and colonels ; they did not look into the army list with more eagerness and

pride than into the rent-rolls of their estates ; they had not Jews and loan-mongers to feed them on services of gold and silver ; they were not foolish and mean enough to think it an honour to be fed by Jews, loan-mongers, and money-jobbers, on plate purchased with the proceeds of the estates descended from their ancestors : their pheasants and hares, indeed, were not protected by laws which enabled themselves to sit as judges to transport for seven years those of their poor neighbours who attempted to take those wild animals for their own use : those grandfathers had indeed no new trespass law providing a punishment by jail and hard labour for a man that happened to stray from a foot-path in their parks and set his foot upon the grass ; but then those grandfathers stood in no need of a worse than French police to protect them when in town ; and in still less need (gracious God ! ) of *watchmen* to guard their mansions in the country !

Sit down tranquilly, my Lords, each of you alone in his country house ; see the night approach ; look out of your door ; see the watchman with his dark lantern, his pistols and his musket ; hear the buz and the laughing in the village, borne to your ear by the winds ; and then go back to your solitary seat, and ask yourselves if this be "*old England*."

Your feelings, your reflections, will tell you that it is not ; will tell you that you have not a thousandth part of the real enjoyment which your grandfathers had ; and reason will convince you ; taken from your flatterers, reason will convince you, that it is not power and influence that you have gained, but feebleness and contempt. An old farmer that I knew, and who died about fifteen years ago, used to say, that if his father, who had been dead about forty years, were to come to life again, "a would n't be able to bide here ;" and then he used to go on about the new game laws, the assessed taxes, the monstrous tax on letters, the stamped receipts, the legacy duty, the malt tax, and divers other oppressions, all which he had at his fingers' ends ; but, if his

father would not have been able to "bide here," how would your fathers be able to bide here if they were to come to life now? How would they be able to bide with their mansions surrounded with watchmen to protect them from being burnt in their beds by the people, those very people who, from the nature of things, ought to deem them their benefactors, and their rock of safety in all cases of danger and cases of oppression? How would they have been able to bide here?

This system has gone on making the burdens of the people heavier and heavier; making all the laws that affect them harder and harder; making their toil still greater and greater, and making the fruit of those toils less and less, till at last the numberless oppressions form a mass which is become absolutely intolerable. Thus situated, having struggled along till we all feel we can struggle no longer under these oppressions, the whole nation is, as one man, resolved upon removing them; and proceeding, as becomes a sensible and just people, to inquire into the cause of the suffering, they trace it to the want of their being represented in parliament. The King, sympathising with them, recommends to the parliament to make a reform in that branch of it which, according to all our laws and all our notions, ought to be freely chosen by the people themselves. The House of Commons, as then constituted, oppose the wishes of the king and the people. The King dissolves that House of Commons in order that he may, by another election, gather the sentiments of his people. The people, by zeal, exertions and sacrifices such as never before were witnessed in any country upon earth, chose a new House of Commons, who come together with a great majority pledged to the people to carry this reform. That the Bill will be carried in that House there is no doubt. There is the King ready to give it his royal assent; and will you, my Lords, by refusing your assent, thus declare openly your hostility to the will of the King and the universal desire of his people? Will you thus tell the people

plainly that you are resolved to be the sole makers of the laws; and that you are resolved to rule both King and people and just in the manner that you please? Will you, in short (and here is the whole question in three words), say to the people, *you shall never be represented in Parliament as long as there is a House of Lords?*

I say that you will not say this. Your flatterers say that you will. The consequences of your saying this shall not, at present, be a subject of observation with me; and I hope that no event will arise to produce those consequences. It is very certain, however, that great and general uneasiness prevails upon the subject: the effects of the uncertainty are by no means little injurious to the country; and, therefore, the sooner the suspense is put an end to the better.

In conclusion, I again beseech your Lordships not to be deluded by the knights and the captains and the parsons; but to listen to reason, to yield to the just desires of the people, to make them your friends; in your treatment of them and your deportment towards them, to cast far away the manners and notions of the camp and the barrack; to rely upon gentleness and justice, and never to rest contented, never to think that you are in the right path, until you can think yourselves safe without a standing army in time of peace, without policemen to guard you in town and without yeomanry cavalry and watchmen to guard you in the country. What a life is this to lead after all! Miserable is the lot of that man, be he who he may, who deems force of any sort, beyond the ordinary wand of the sheriff and the staff of the constable, necessary to the defence of his person or his property. *Piquets*, "*safe conducts*," *protecting guards*, *flags of truce*, are things resorted to in war; and how much short of these are the scattered detachments of regulars, the corps of yeomanry with their flags, the watchmen round the farm-houses and the mansions? If this be a state of peace, what is a state of war! And, as I exclaimed at the opening of the elec-



tion at Preston, and as I asked at the close of my letter to TIERNEY, "Is England *always* to be thus?" Yes, always, until the Parliament be reformed; except that this state will grow daily worse and worse, until the whole fabric of that ancient and once most excellent Government, of which your Lordships form a principal branch, shall be torn up by the roots, by some violent convulsion.

WM. COBBETT.

### POOR-LAWS FOR IRELAND.

It is now more than ten years that I have been contending for *Poor-laws for Ireland*; and, until within these four years, I was for this very cause an object of abuse with almost every writer, and more especially with the *Irish squires*, that only race of God's creation that are wholly *destitute of hearts to feel for human sufferers*. There are many bad enough in England; there are some bull-frog farmers, especially in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire; and there is *one whole body* in England, whom I need not name; these are, perhaps, equal to the *Irish squires*; but, with these exceptions, the creation furnishes no parallel, nothing even to resemble, in injustice, in baseness, in savage cruelty, the squirearchy of wretched Ireland.

At last, however, they seem to be hemmed up in a corner. The monsters chuckled when the *steam-boats* were discovered, and when they could at so easy a rate send away, or rather, bring away, the produce of Ireland, and also shoals of the wretched people *to wipe off the cream of the year's work from the English labourers*, and to carry the proceeds to Ireland, *to pay the rents to the squirearchy, and tithes to the parsons*. So palpably was this the case, and is the case, that in thousands of instances, the squirearchy received *this cream in London* from the poor wretches, as soon as they had skimmed it off away from the English labourers. In other instances, the slaves paid the money *to bankers* in London, or else-

where, for account of the squires. In short, a more complete process for taking bread from the English labourers, and turning it into money for the Irish squires and parsons could not have been invented by the devil himself, if he had turned squire.

The English bull-frogs and squires were a good deal *puzzled* by this steam-boat invasion. They liked it very much in one respect: it enabled them to get in the hay and the corn *cheaper*; it *lowered the wages of the English labourers*; the Irish slaves set a *fine example* too in the way of living: a kettle hung on cross-sticks and filled with potatoes, supplied them with food, and buttermilk, *actually taken out of the hog-cistern*, was choice liquid, when they were happy enough to get it instead of water. As to lodging, a barn, or shed, was better far than the squires allowed them in Ireland; and for *clothing*, they and the lice disputed the possession.

This was all good in the eyes of the English bull-frogger; but then there was *another side* to the matter. The *example* was good; it was excellent; it was in a fair way of bringing down Englishmen to live on hog-wash too: "*so far, so good*:" and it was become very fashionable for the bull-frogger to ask the English labourers, *why they could not live as the Irish did*? This, therefore, the bull-frogger liked exceedingly. But there was the other side; the side of the *poor-rates*! Ah! those poor-rates! If it were not for "*they there poor-rauts*!" STURGES BOURNE'S BILLS, which introduced the *hired overseers*, and the harness and cattle-work, had done a good deal towards putting an end in effect to the poor-laws; but still the people looked to them as their *inheritance*, and they justly looked upon them in that light. It was impossible to put an end to them without, in fact, *putting an end to the Government*; and that has since been proved.

Thus, then, the bull-frogger began to perceive that they did not, after all, gain in the end by the steam-boat invasion of the slaves. They saw, in

short, that the slaves came and wiped off the pounds which the English labourers used to *save*, in hay-time and harvest, to help them *through the winter* and dead time of the year; that these pounds being thus taken away, the labourers *fell more heavily on the poor-rates*; so that the true account of the matter was, that the Irish squires sent their slaves hither to carry away *an annual parcel of poor-rates* to be given TO THEM! "Oh! d—n it," said the English bull-frogger, "we must *prevent that!*" And my readers will recollect that, about two years ago, BURDETT, in particular, complained bitterly on this score, and said that the English landlords had to pay heavy poor-rates to the English, on account of this steam-boat invasion; and now the TALK about *poor-rates for Ireland* first began in the *Matchless House!*

Nothing, however, was *done*. The *starvations* produced no effect on those who had the power to make such laws. Nothing produced any effect. *I kept on writing* for Irish poor-laws; but the winds were as much attended to. At last, however, the *English labourers* took the thing in hand; and, as has been the case in all times, the resistance began in the *county of Kent*, where, last year, those troubles which shook the country to the centre, began by the *forcible expulsion of the Irish from the Isle of Thanet*. This year, this resistance has made its appearance in a much more serious shape, especially in *Lincolnshire*; and NOW, at last, I see that the *incomparable House*, "the like" of which we shall never look upon "again," is actually about to *do something* in the establishing of poor-rates in Ireland! The History of the *Protestant Reformation* shows *why* it was that there were not poor-rates in Ireland as well as in England. Two hundred and thirty years have the poor souls in that country been oppressed: at last the oppression seems to be drawing towards a close; and for this the Irish will have to thank the *labourers of England*, who would not suffer them to come any longer to carry away the cream of the English labourer to be

given to the Irish squires and parsons. The English labourers do not know what the potatoe and hog-wash eaters *do with the cream*; but they know that they *take it away* from them; and, while the *Government* is telling them that there are *too many* even of them, no wonder that they are uncommonly resolute not to suffer the steam-boat invasion to add to their numbers.

With this preface, the reader will enter the more satisfactorily on the *debate* relative to Irish poor-laws. But I must first give an account of the transactions in *Lincolnshire*. The following is taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 12th instant:—

The country papers are filled with accounts of outrages against Irishmen by English labourers, who have discernment enough to perceive that the influx of these competitors causes a rapid reduction of wages. From an article copied by us from the *Boston Gazette*, it appears that in Lincolnshire there is a general *outrage against the Irish*; that they are obliged to *travel in large bodies for their protection*; and that in several instances it required great efforts on the part of the *authorities* of the county to *prevent bloodshed*. Even when moving in bodies of *upwards of an hundred*, they *require the escort of constables*. In the trial of a farmer in Surrey, on Tuesday last (reported in the *Chronicle* of yesterday), there was but too satisfactory evidence of the strong feeling in the home counties against all who employ Irish labourers. In fact, the most frequent subject of conversation among labourers is the ruin in which they deem themselves involved by the Irish. They have a strong conviction on this subject, and they do not disguise their determination to *revenge themselves on all who employ Irish*. Their former feeling of deference towards their superiors has ceased to exist, and there is *no disguising the fact*, that they look upon the higher ranks as in a *conspiracy against them*, that by means of *under-paid labour* they may *live luxuriously* at their expense. The condition of England is altogether anomalous. In all other countries there are persons in whom the labouring classes repose confidence, and through whose instrumentality they may be influenced; but in England, the labourers look with sullen distrust on all around them. In all other countries the *parish clergy possess considerable influence*; but in England the *clergy belong to the aristocracy*, and do not sympathise with the people. This is a fearful state of things.

It is a fearful state of things, to be sure; but it is no other than such a state of things that I have long looked for



and foretold. The violences in Lincolnshire are, however, much more extensive than as described in this extract. The labourers openly, and without any disguise in the expressions that they make use of, threaten that they will destroy by fire, not only the barns and ricks and houses, but the standing corn, of those who employ Irishmen about the works of the harvest. I know this from the very best authority; and, God knows, I have warned the Government against it long and long enough. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 11th (I think it was) had the following article:—

“We understand that such is the indignation of the English labourers at the irruption of the crowds of Irish among them, that on Thursday last a party of Irish were set upon in Lincolnshire, and three of them ———.

“The Magistrates and constables were out, but did not arrive till the outrage was perpetrated. The men were attended to, and are doing as well as can be expected.” I am very glad to see that the fact relating to this brutal deed is contradicted in some of the newspapers; though I believe something of the sort was either done or attempted; and, even if perpetrated, is it less brutal than that which might have been expected from these labourers, after thirty years of attempts to bring their minds to the most desperate and foul deeds, relative to the prevention of an increase of their numbers. Let it be recollected that printed papers have been, and with uncommon industry, circulated amongst the working people, both agricultural and manufacturing, to teach them how to use the means of living in the married state *without having children*. Let it be recollected that these publications have been spread about in prodigious numbers, and in the openest and boldest manner; let it be recollected that they have been openly sold in shops in London, with the most captivating titles, describing the mechanical process, and all the implements, in the most minute and unblushing manner; and that, neither the Government nor the “*Society for the Suppression of Vice*,” that band of conspirators

against the political and religious liberties of the people, has ever prosecuted or found fault with these beastly publications, founded upon the principles of the audacious MALTHUS, and having for their object, not only evident but avowed, to prevent the working people from having children. Is it any wonder, then; though the deed excites horror and inexpressible disgust; is it any wonder that these thirty years of brutalizing should have produced, in some few men, a disposition to use the only effectual means of *checking the population*, as it is called, amongst those, too, who are come to augment the population, as well as to take the bread out of the mouths of the labourers of the country? Lord BROUGHAM will have discovered, perhaps, by this time, that the *Malthusian philosophy* is not the most amiable and benevolent in the world, as he described it to be, when he indirectly supported the *Six-Acts* with a view of crippling the “*bad part of the press*,” thereby meaning my *Register*.

I would now, and without any animosity, turn to Lord HOWICK, and ask him whether I was not right and he wrong about his emigration project. The truth is, that neither he nor WILMOT HORTON, nor any of the rest of them, knew any thing at all about the state of the country. Let him now go, as I have done during the last week, and jog along through two hundred villages and hamlets, and put up at the public-houses in the villages, and go to a village church on the Sunday, and see the people, and hear what farmers and labourers say, and the smiths and wheelwrights and the rest of them, and he will come home quite convinced that every attempt to send the working-people out of the country is an attempt to murder the country as far as a country can be murdered. At this very moment, there are not half enough labourers in Lincolnshire to get in the harvest in a proper time and manner. I say not half enough Englishmen in the county, or natives of the county; and if he believe not me, let him put the question to either of the members of the county.

In East Kent the riots are upon the eve of breaking out again, because some of the farmers mow the wheat instead of reaping it, the former being the quicker process, but a process which the labourers deem less advantageous to them than the reaping. They have mowed the wheat in several parts of Hampshire and Surrey and Berkshire; but in Hampshire I understand that they have done it with the consent of the labourers, and upon an agreement that no foreigners shall be brought into the parishes. The mowing of wheat is advantageous or otherwise, according to circumstances. Where straw is wanted, it adds greatly to the quantity of the straw. It is sooner done than reaping; but it has these disadvantages: it increases the labour of carrying, it creates a demand for barn-room, it augments the labour in thrashing, it takes away work from *women*, and particularly from *boys*, which last is a matter of great importance. In one field in Hampshire, of about twelve acres, I saw no less than six women and girls reaping with their husbands and fathers, and I saw two *cradles* in the field. This would have shocked the nasty Peter Thimble, and the filthy wretch at Manchester who received the bundle of Malthusian papers some years ago, and sent them to Mrs. Files.

The women are, however, employed in the binding of the wheat after it is mowed; but reaping is a fine employment for boys and girls, and they are proud of it, which is a very great thing. It is a prime sort of labour: it is one of the employments of the apprenticeship of farming. However, this is not so much the question at present. The question is, whether there can be too many working-people in the country, when the scythe is resorted to instead of the sickle, in order to get in the harvest in good time. In America, they always mow the wheat. They mow every thing, and they tie every thing up in sheaves; that is to say, wheat, rye, oats and barley. They mow instead of reap, because they have not a hand too many. We have taken to mowing wheat, which we never did before, because we

have not a hand too many. There is great inconvenience attending this mowing of wheat. A barn that would hold twenty acres of wheat reaped, will not hold much more than ten acres when that wheat is mowed. If it be long in the straw, it is impossible to tie it up tight without two bands, and even then it is difficult to make it lie close, because the but has always more or less of lilies or grass or something in it. The great increased bulk drives the farmer to the use of ricks. There are rick-steddles of some sort or other to be provided; there is an augmentation of the thatching; and, after all, the rick is a bouzy, ugly thing; ears sticking out amongst the butts, and you hardly see one that is what a wheat-rick ought to be. In short, it looks like a temporary concern; a thing that is not destined to stand any time, instead of looking like a store provided for an untoward season. The advantage attending the additional quantity of straw is an advantage only in certain cases; and where straw is wanted, the butts are not good straw by any means: it is poor rotten stuff; and, if wanted for the bedding of yards, it is much better to mow it in the latter part of September, or in October, and then carry it off the ground.

But, after all, mowing the wheat is a proof of a want of hands amongst the labouring people. This mode of cutting wheat causes it to be got in quicker than by the other mode. That is the object of the mowing: there are not men enough to get a good large harvest in in the old-fashioned way; and look at that Government of ours: look at it, and see it at this very time engaged in projects to get the working people out of the country, and to tax those that remain to pay for ships and sailors to carry them away. I believe they have given up their emigration law. I took upon me to say that I myself would defeat that project; but they have a *Royal Commission* sitting to invite people to leave the country; and this they call good government: these are called *statesmen*, are they!

I must now return to the subject of Poor-laws for Ireland, which must be



adopted at last ; and that ill-treated people, that people who have been the wretched slaves of an English aristocracy and hierarchy ever since the savage Elizabeth got upon the throne, will have to thank the *English labourers* for the justice that now must be done them. They owe something to me for the *History of the Protestant Reformation*, in which I showed that their miseries arose from the want of poor-rates ; they will have to thank me for having incessantly laboured to obtain justice for them ; they will have to thank me for my petition to the Commons of 1829 ; but I might have written, I might have preached and have prayed, I might have proved the injustice done them, and kept on proving it to the end of my life without obtaining that for them which will now be obtained by means of the English labourers. These labourers say, in fact, "Stay at home and make the owners and occupiers of the land give you your due share of its produce. Our government tells us that there are too many of us already. It is getting us to go away, if it can, and yet it lets you come to do the work that we ought to do. If you have not the spirit to demand your due share of the produce of the land in your *own* country, you shall not come to cause us to be driven out of *our* country : if you like to live upon potatoes and hog-wash, you may : we will not : and, therefore, go back to your own country."

When I was at Hull, there were ten ships then actually going away loaded with country people from the beautiful counties of Lincoln and East York. Now, there is not half a sufficiency of hands to get in the harvest, especially in the county of Lincoln. With perfect truth may it be said that the harvest is abundant and the labourers few, and in this beautiful county there are *constables and troops of dragoons* to guard the Irishmen from place to place, while the English labourers are threatening fire and destruction to the owners and occupiers of the land ; while *MALTHUS* and *PETER THIMBLE* are bawling *surplus population*, and while our bunch of rare

statesmen are employed in schemes for getting the working people out of the country ! I can say no more : no words are sufficient to describe the indignation and contempt that are conflicting in my breast when I behold the state of the country and the conduct of its rulers.

Now for the debate about poor-laws for Ireland.

#### POOR-LAWS FOR IRELAND.

Mr. BROWNLOW said he had a petition of so much importance to present to the House, that he had thought it necessary to adopt the unusual course of giving notice of his intention, and he trusted he would not be thought to have much infringed on their time, if he now took leave shortly to state the prayer of the petitioners. The persons who approached the House with a humble petition requested it would take the state of Ireland into its immediate consideration, and adopt such measures, through the means of poor laws or otherwise, as might seem best fitted for the evils under which it suffered. The petitioners were the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and they complained that, since the removal of the cause of civil and religious dissension in that country, nothing had been done by the Legislature to improve the moral, social, or political condition of Ireland. They declared that the people were in a state of starvation, and that they could not think it was consistent with justice, or with Christian charity, that the population should be left to starve in the land which they enriched by their labour, and that one part of the inhabitants should be rioting in profusion, while the great majority was unable to procure the means to satisfy the common wants of humanity. In a language which, in his opinion, was, of all others, the most appropriate to the subject, the petitioners implored them, for the sake of Him who has declared himself the father of the indigent—for the sake of Him who is provoked to anger when the poor suffer oppression, to adopt some immediate means to relieve the people of Ireland from their present condition, lest that Being should be moved to wrath at their culpable indifference. (Hear, hear.) For himself he could only say, as an addition to the eloquent appeal of the petitioners, that he adopted their description of the grievances of Ireland, and that he knew their statement of the condition of the people was any-thing but exaggerated. He adopted, to the fullest extent, their suggestion with respect to the remedy ; and he thought that the property of Ireland should be made responsible for the poverty of Ireland. All other measures would, he was convinced, prove mere palliatives, till they adopted some permanent provision for the in-

digent and helpless. As a landed proprietor, he approved of the plan for giving poor-laws to Ireland; and, so far from thinking that his property would be injured by it, he believed, on the contrary, that the general value of all the landed property of that country would be very considerably increased. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel CONNELLY supported the prayer of the petition, and expressed himself of the same opinion as the Member for Armagh, that the general value of landed property would be much increased by the introduction of poor-laws into Ireland. He hoped the Government would turn their attention to the subject, and adopt the suggestion of the petition.

Mr. BROWNE was also disposed to support a modified system of poor-laws, as the best remedy for the evils of Ireland, and as the only method of improving the social and moral condition of the people. He supported that proposition with the more pleasure, because he thought it would be the best means of catching those bloodsuckers, as he might take leave to call them, who were rioting in luxury, while those who gave them the resources for this indulgence were suffered to perish from starvation. (Hear.)

Mr. SADLER also agreed in the propriety of giving a well-modified system of poor-laws to Ireland; but reserved, for a more favourable opportunity, his reasons for having adopted that conclusion.

Mr. CRAMPTON, as a private member of that House, and unconnected with the Government, would say, that he was not averse to the introduction of some system of poor-laws into Ireland, but, he thought they should recollect, that it was a step which once taken could never be recalled, and that there were two very different points connected with the question of these laws as applicable to Ireland. As far as a fund of that kind could be applied to the support of the aged and infirm in hospitals and poor-houses, he thought the experiment was one which might be tried with safety; but he confessed, when they went further, and proposed to extend to Ireland those laws for the support of the unemployed which were in operation in this country, he could not very clearly see his way. He begged it to be understood, that he said this not as a member connected with the Government, but merely as a private individual.

Mr. GRATTAN regretted much, that on such an important question no minister of the Crown was present, nor no one connected with Ireland or the Government; not even the honourable Member for Limerick (Mr. Rice), who took up the question of the application of poor-laws to Ireland about a year and a half ago, and afterwards left it where he found it. He (Mr. Grattan) had always been an advocate for poor-laws in Ireland, and he was determined never to lose an opportunity which presented itself of compelling the absentee proprietors to bear their share of the burdens suffered by the residents. Without that it

was impossible that anything could be done for Ireland. Individuals had repeatedly tried to improve their estates, but the moment they made any progress, a crowd of the miserable and the indigent came down on them, and destroyed by their presence the whole of the benefits derived from the labours of the occupiers of those estates. He rejoiced much that the Catholic Bishops had taken the lead in petitioning on this subject, and hoped for the sake of their church, and of their character, that the Protestant Bishops would follow their example, and prove themselves ready to sacrifice a portion of their overgrown possessions for the benefit of those from whom they derived their gains. (Hear, hear, hear.) Much, however, as the opinions of the House seemed to be in favour of poor-laws, there was no tangible proposition yet made on the subject; and as no other member seemed disposed to take the matter under his care, he now gave notice of his intention to move to-morrow for leave to bring in a bill to provide relief for the aged and helpless, and to enforce the means of procuring employment for the population of Ireland. This would give hon. Members an opportunity of supporting their opinions, and he hoped the member for Limerick (Mr. Rice) would then condescend to be present.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that the distress of Ireland was acknowledged by all parties. For two-and-thirty years the Imperial Parliament had afforded it no relief, and what had been done or proposed by the Members of the Administration? Nothing. He challenged any man to point out a measure since they came into office intended to relieve the evils of Ireland. There was not one; and he would not be guilty of the hypocrisy of saying that he could continue to support them. The right hon. Secretary for Ireland said he laboured for nine hours a day, but he was absent then; and where was the use of his labours, if Ireland derived no benefit from them? He could not, therefore, postpone his observations on the course pursued with reference to Ireland, because the right hon. Gentleman was absent. What, then, was the state of Ireland? Justice was refused, murders were committed with impunity, outrages were committed in open day, the great mass of the people were starving, and yet, on the face of all that, a bill had passed the House of Lords for expending an immense sum in the erection of new churches in that country. The bill might have passed quietly there; but he would not allow it to pass unquestioned there. The people of Ireland were starving. Something must be done. The time was come when there must be a poor-rate, and the subject ought to be attacked directly. There had become an end of social order in Ireland. The bonds of society were broken up. Desolation stalked in her streets; and famine prowled in her fertile valleys. The cattle and the corn of the country were exporting, and the starving peasantry were looking on at the export. What part of the world was in such a condition as Ireland?



But by whom had Ireland been governed? By the English. "Oh, but," it was said, "we have good intentions towards Ireland." The Italian proverb said, that "Hell was paved with good intentions." He had expected much from the present promising Administration, but they had performed nothing; and the feelings with which he always regarded the subject were especially irritated by the Bill for Building Churches in Ireland, which had been sent down by the House of Lords.

Mr. COURTENAY allowed, with the hon. Member for Kerry, that good intentions were not sufficient. He was for a properly arranged system of poor-laws in Ireland. But he could not for a moment believe that his right hon. Friend, the Chief Secretary for Ireland was a man who could be satisfied with good intentions; and he was sure that he was labouring hard to prepare a plan calculated to produce the most beneficial consequences. He hoped that some well digested system of poor-laws would be introduced into Ireland; and although he could not hope that its benefits would be speedily felt, he trusted that they would be solid and permanent. In the conclusion of his speech, he read an opinion by George Snigg, an Attorney or Solicitor-General of former times, as to the course the landed interest ought to pursue with reference to the poor.

Colonel TORRENS observed, that the first thing was to ascertain the nature and cause of the disease to which they were all equally anxious to apply a remedy. All were anxious for the improvement of Ireland. The only question was, of what improvement she was susceptible. As to manufacturing improvement, that was out of the question. No one could expect that the manufactures of Yorkshire and Wiltshire could be transferred to Ireland. The only improvement to which they could look was agricultural improvement. But in what did agricultural improvement consist? In one respect, in the *consolidation of small farms into large ones*. The effect of that, however, would be to increase a population *already superabundant*. Poor-laws would, in his opinion, *not afford any remedy for the existing evils*. Their effect would be simply to make all the poor *co-proprietors of the soil—to bring down the higher classes, without relieving the lower—to confound all classes in a dead level, and to leave no one at liberty and leisure to sound the depths of science or cultivate the fields of knowledge*. If the legislature wished to avoid the extremities of disorder, if they wished to avoid the shedding of torrents of blood in Ireland, the surplus population of that country must be removed to the fertile plains of our colonies.

Mr. CRAMPTON observed, that the subject was one which required the deepest consideration; and from no one, he was sure, would it receive that consideration more fully than from his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who had been the subject of the

attack of the hon. and learned Member for Kerry. From no man could such an attack come with a worse grace than from the hon. and learned Gentleman. For when did the hon. and learned Gentleman become a convert to the opinion that poor-laws were necessary in Ireland? Only a few weeks ago; on the appearance of a pamphlet written by a very clever Catholic Bishop, of whom he (Mr. Crampton) should certainly never speak with any-thing but respect. The hon. and learned Member for Kerry had further charged the Irish Government with the encouragement of dissension in Ireland; and that, although he well knew that the cause of that agitation, which had since spread over the whole of Ireland, originated in a county election, in which the honourable and learned Gentleman was concerned.

Mr. FERRAL spoke to order. The hon. and learned Gentleman was departing from the question before the House.

Mr. CRAMPTON resumed: and warmly asserted his right to defend his friends and himself from the imputations cast upon them by the hon. and learned Member for Kerry.

Lord MORPETH acknowledged that if at any time warmth and acrimony were justifiable in a discussion, it was when the subject was a starving population; but he still put it to honourable Members, whether they thought the question could be benefited by the introduction of mutual reproaches? (Hear, hear.) As a proof that the prayer of the petition which had been presented by the honourable Member for Armagh was not singular, he held in his hands petitions (which the present discussion would probably compel him to hold in his hands a long time) from three large manufacturing towns in Yorkshire, for the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland. They complained of the evils which they endured from the influx of the Irish poor; evils to which, they were persuaded, there was no efficient remedy but a firm, a permanent, and an indigenous check.

Mr. HUMB reprobated the conversion of a general into a personal question. The honourable and learned Gentleman opposite charged his honourable and learned Friend with having been the cause of the present state of things in Ireland. Why, it existed before the birth of the honourable and learned Gentleman's great-grandfather. The sufferings of Ireland were acknowledged—they were proclaimed by all classes. His hon. and learned Friend had justly said, that the present Administration, who, when they were *out of office, promised to do so much for Ireland, since they had come into power had done nothing*. The right honourable Chief Secretary talked of labouring nine hours in the day. He (Mr. Hume) would rather see *one act than all this profession*. The subject was one in which he felt deeply interested; and not he alone, but all the people of England. If that unfortunate country, Ireland, were relieved

from her present condition, England would be placed in a state of comparative liberty; whereas at present, Ireland hung like a log upon England, impeding all her movements. The honourable Member for Armagh had done his duty; but his Majesty's Government had neglected theirs. It was acknowledged on all hands, that the most violent party spirit existed in Ireland; that Protestants, when charged with any offence, however criminal, were almost sure of impunity; while Catholics, when charged with any offence, however venial, were almost sure of severe punishment. (Loud cries of "No, no, no.") Yet, in addition to these evils, his Majesty's Government had *put arms into the hands of infuriated men in Ireland*; which arms would, no doubt, be used in putting their fellow-subjects to death. Could it be expected that Ireland would much longer bear this accumulation of injuries? Day after day, and night after night passed; and although Government heard the various statements which were made of the condition of Ireland, they did nothing. Well might his honourable and learned Friend say that they were a *promising Government, not a performing one*.

Mr. FERRAL observed, that he had called the Solicitor-General of Ireland to order, because he could not patiently sit and hear that honourable and learned Gentleman attribute the present miseries of Ireland to a contested election.

Lord MILTON regretted that the honourable and learned Member for Kerry had, by his remarks, introduced into the discussion of this most important subject a tone which it had not before assumed. The honourable Member for Middlesex could not suppose that he had made any great discovery when he attributed the evils of Ireland to misgovernment. But did he mean misgovernment of the present day, or of centuries? If the latter, he (Lord Milton) cordially agreed with him. But it was not accordant with justice to use ambiguous expressions, the real purport of which might be perverted. If the honourable Member for Middlesex meant, by misgovernment, the misgovernment—not of generations, but of the existing time—then he (Lord Milton) did not agree with him. The subject to which the petition referred was one of the greatest importance. No one who had observed the operation of the poor-laws in England but must feel that he would be guilty of *great indiscretion who would introduce them into Ireland without great previous deliberation*. It was a system, the effect of which in England had been such, that ever since he had been a Member of that House (no very short period) the state of the poor-laws had been *constantly under the consideration of Parliament*. He perfectly agreed with the honourable and learned Member for Kerry, that if the people of Ireland were starving, *they must be fed*; but that did not decide the question of the *expediency of introducing poor-laws among them*. A great mistake appeared

to exist with respect to the character of the poor in Ireland. Sure he was, that in Ireland there was among the poor a feeling of *amity and kindness which might be searched for in vain among the poor of England, from one end of the island to the other*. Let Parliament take care that, by the introduction of any new system, they did not destroy THAT invaluable feeling.

Mr. Hume and Mr. Crampton explained.

A Member, whose name we could not learn, exposed the inconsistency of calling upon a people who were in a state of starvation, to build churches.

Mr. NORTH observed, that there was no one who had contemplated the state of Ireland but must be aware that there were great difficulties in the way of any advantageous interference with that state by Government or the Legislature. If, instead of bringing forward a delusive change in the representation of Ireland, calculated only to perpetuate disturbance and agitation in that country, his Majesty's Government had applied themselves to the practical question of the state of the poor, and had framed a well-digested system of poor-laws, for the purpose of bettering their condition, they would have discharged a great public duty.

Mr. RUTHVEN remonstrated against the manner in which the real question before the House had been departed from. He regretted that Government paid such little attention to the poor of Ireland.

Mr. WYNNE complained of the honourable Member for Middlesex having styled the yeomanry of Ireland bigoted and infuriated men, and observed, that such language was not calculated to allay the irritation in that country.

Mr. WYSE said, that agitation might be prevented by passing beneficial laws, and establishing a good and equal Government in Ireland.

Colonel PERCEVAL concurred with the Solicitor-General in attributing the disturbances to the election to which his hon. and learned Friend alluded—the election for Clare; and also the election for Waterford. He expressed his hope that Government would act with *more firmness* than it had hitherto done. He had approved much of their Registry of Arms' Bill; but he regretted that it had been deprived of its best clauses. He also concurred with his hon. Friend for the Borough of Sligo in the opinion he had expressed respecting the yeomanry of Ireland.

Major MACNAMARA denied that the disturbances in Ireland, and its present miserable and unsettled condition, originated in the Clare election. In the county of Clare the disturbances had proceeded from the circumstance of there being *one law for the poor and another for the rich*; and from many people being driven from their holdings, because they would not suffer their children to be *educated in a religion to which they could not assent*.

Mr. SHEIL supported the prayer of the petition, and thought it was worthy of particular



attention from the peculiar knowledge which, from the apostolic character of the petitioners, they possessed respecting the habits and character of the Irish people. He begged the Government to take into their consideration the whole state of Ireland. They (he meant the popular Members for Ireland) called upon them to do so. They had a right to make this appeal to Government, in a phalanx of about forty Members that had sustained Government. If it had not been for their exertions last Session, the Gentlemen on the Treasury Benches would have lost their seats. They were therefore entitled to a hearing when they called for a consideration of the state of Ireland. He specially complained of the administration of the laws, and asked if lately in a trial at Kilkenny, all Roman Catholics and liberal Protestants had not been excluded from a Jury?

LORD DUNCANNON, by desire of his constituents, bore witness, without observations, to the fact that *Catholics had been excluded from the Jury in question.*

MR. O'CONNELL denied having made any attack on the Chief Secretary for Ireland in his absence. He had simply remarked that this Government was, as far as Ireland was concerned, a promising and not a performing Government. Notwithstanding the right hon. Secretary's nine hours' labour, nothing had as yet been done. He complained of the system of misgovernment under which Ireland had so long laboured. Thirty years had elapsed since the Union, and the country was now in a state of the utmost misery—all the links of society were dissolved. This could not stand still—they were unwilling to go back, and it was frightful to look on the present. He, too, complained of the administration of justice, and alluded to the trial at Kilkenny, and those at Newtownbarry, stating, in the latter case, that the Attorney-General was at Wexford, and asking why he did not assist at the prosecutions?

MR. CRAMPTON said, he had made no attack on the Member for Kerry; he had merely repelled an attack on the Irish Government. Touching the Kilkenny trial, he observed, that the prosecutor being a clergyman of the Church of England, and the question concerning tithes, it was not a matter of wonder that he should have used his *right of challenge to exclude Roman Catholics from the Jury.* He at the same time, for himself and the Attorney-General for Ireland, disclaimed having ever used any improper influence in the construction of juries.

MR. HUME called on the Government to take some decided steps on the subject, or they would be held responsible for the conduct of those whom they employed.

MR. STANLEY admitted that Government must be held responsible for the conduct of those whom they employed, but he begged to say, that they were not to be made answerable for every groundless charge and every hasty imputation that any person might

choose to bring against them. Whoever was anxious to bring forward any tangible charge against the Government, let him state it to the House, and he (Mr. Stanley) should be at all times ready to meet it. Imputations were lightly thrown out upon the Irish Government, and charges of partiality were made; but he would fearlessly assert, that since the noble Lord the Marquess of Anglesea had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he had had no object nearer his heart than that of taking care, as far as he was concerned, that in the administration of justice, there should not only be no ground of imputation on the conduct of the Government, but that there should not even be the shadow of a suspicion of it. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and learned Member opposite had called on them to throw themselves on the other party, but he begged to tell the hon. and learned Member, and through him the country, that it was not because one party was opposed to the Government on one point, and another party supported it on one point, that the Government would throw itself upon either. It was the fixed determination of Government never to throw itself upon any party whatever, but to administer justice equally to all. (Cheers.) He called, therefore, on hon. Gentlemen not to come down day after day, and state general imputations of unfairness and injustice on the part of Government, but to bring forward some clear and specific charge capable of proof and capable of denial, and he should not be at all afraid to meet it. Among other things, it was said, that on a recent occasion, a certain number of persons had been set aside from being called on the Jury because they were Catholics, or because they were liberal Protestants; and it was even asserted that this was done by the Government. Whatever might be the fact, as to the setting aside the Catholics, or the liberal Protestants, this he would assert, without fear of contradiction, that it had not been done by the Government because of their opinions. This, however, was a serious charge made solely on the strength of individual assertion, and it was strange enough, that a charge of partiality thus made on one side did not prevent an equally strong charge of partiality being made on the other. In the Castle Pollard case the Government were accused of favouring the other side. He denied the accusation in both cases, and he repeated, that the Government would join with no party, but would do its best to secure a fair and free administration of justice.

MR. SHEIL declared, that this was not the case of a private prosecution; it was, throughout, considered a crown prosecution, and it was conducted not only by the crown officers, but by crown counsel. The right honourable Gentleman had said very properly, that the Government intended to mix itself up with no party, but to administer equal justice to both. He was glad to hear the declaration. If that was to be so, then let the Government take care that the rule thus laid down was strictly

acted upon in the selection of juries. He did not charge the right hon. Gentleman personally—he did not mean to make any charge against the Government; but he was bound to say, that if the Government did intend (as he most firmly believed they did) to act fairly, they should take care of the conduct of their agents, so that the administration of justice, which they intended to be pure, should not even appear to be defective. There was now a jury bill before the House, and the hon. and learned Member for Kerry and the honourable and learned Solicitor-General for Ireland were appointed members of the Committee to prepare it. Let them take care that it was so framed as to guard against those evils that were now the subject of complaint.

Mr. S. RICE denied that it had of late years been at all the custom of the Government to influence the selection of juries. On the contrary, they had regularly admitted all persons legally qualified, both Catholics and Protestants, and they had generally found that both had done their duty impartially.

Sir R. PEEL said, he did not rise to make any observations on this subject of a political nature, but he must do his best to prevent the recurrence of such discussions as the present, on the state of the administration of justice—discussions which he could not but consider as fraught with evil both to the Government and to Ireland itself. (Hear, hear, hear.) It must be for the advantage of the country that Catholics and Protestants should be united, yet these daily debates in this House of Parliament could have no other effect than to widen the breach unhappily existing between them. (Hear, hear.) Under these circumstances, he submitted to the noble Lord opposite whether it would not be better (he did not require it himself, for he was ready to declare that he thought no case whatever had been made out) that a Committee of Inquiry should be appointed, than that there should be day after day this sort of discussion. If there was any ground for asserting that justice was not properly administered in Ireland, he should, if he were the noble Lord, challenge inquiry, and compel those who made the charge to the proof of their assertions. He was only giving the advice which he should certainly adopt were he a member of the Government, as he should deem it of the utmost importance to put an end to these cavilling objections to the administration of justice, which, however ill-founded, must tend, when thus repeated from day to day, to shake the confidence of every person in Ireland in the equal administration of the laws.

Lord ALTHORP observed, that it was impossible not to feel the evil of these discussions, and he wished that the weight properly due to the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman should be attached to it in this instance. The right hon. Gentleman had a short time since observed upon the impropriety of discussions of this sort in the absence

of full information on the subject. Now one of these matters had on a former occasion been before the House, and inquiries had been despatched from Ireland, and this discussion was again introduced before there was a possibility of getting an answer to them. The case of Kilkenny was that to which he alluded; and though it was known that answers could not yet have been received, yet were these attacks made day after day, without giving the Government time to obtain those explanations, which, when procured, would, he trusted, be found quite satisfactory; but which, if they did not prove so, he should not wish to be conclusive, for there was no man in that House who would be more eager than himself to prevent the recurrence of any improper interference in the administration of justice. (Hear, hear, hear.) With respect to the present recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman, to grant a Committee of inquiry, he must express his decided opinion, that not only a plausible, but a very strong case indeed ought to be made out, before it was referred to a Committee of that House to revise a decision of a court of justice. (Hear, hear, hear.) If there was any thing improper in the proceeding, he did not think a Committee of that House a proper tribunal to decide upon it; but he was of opinion that the remedy ought to proceed from the Government in their executive capacity. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir R. PEEL had not intended to recommend that a judicial decision should be submitted to a committee of that House. The charge was, that the early forms of the proceedings had been corrupted by the interference of the Government Officers. He recommended a committee to inquire into that subject.

After a few words from Sir J. M. Doyle, the petition was laid upon the Table.

Mr. BROWNLOW was surprised at some of the observations which had fallen from the noble Lord (the member for Northamptonshire) on the subject of this petition. The noble Lord had desired them to pause before they introduced poor-laws into Ireland; and had alleged that by the introduction of these laws, they would but disturb the charitable feeling of the different classes there. There was no ground whatever for such an alarm; but unless a measure of that sort was introduced, that charitable feeling would be of little avail. In the present state of Ireland, the whole weight of the support of the poor fell upon the middle classes, and upon those of the labouring classes, only just above the poor themselves. This was a great grievance and injustice; and it was a matter of serious complaint in the petition which he had the honour to present to the House. The petitioners urged the House to take the weight of the burden of maintaining the poor off the shoulders of the labouring classes, on whom it now entirely rested, and put it upon the rich. He supported the prayer of that petition, and called upon the House to take the



burden from the labour and industry of the country and put it upon property—to make the property of Ireland responsible for the poverty of Ireland. When they heard, as they had done lately, that where 80,000*l.* was drawn from Ireland, only 20*l.* had been subscribed by the hard-hearted absentees to relieve the distresses of her people, there could be but one feeling that some measure was necessary to compel those persons to contribute to the relief of the distresses of those hard-worked labourers from whose industry they obtained their own enormous wealth. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL, notwithstanding what had been said, felt himself bound in duty, every day, to press the subject of the administration of justice in Ireland upon the attention of the House. It was very well for Ministers to assume a haughty tone, but it would be much better if they took some steps to remedy the grievances of Ireland. Eight human lives had been lost, and not a policeman had been removed.

Mr. STANLEY begged leave to contradict the hon. Member, in point of fact; every policeman engaged in the affair had been removed from the COUNTY.

Mr. O'CONNELL: That the right hon. Gentleman was pleased to call a contradiction in point of fact! The men might have been removed to another county, but they had not been removed from the police; they were retained to shoot more of the King's subjects. (Cheers.) Government had promised a great deal for Ireland, but they had performed nothing.

Mr. WAYLAND vindicated the lower orders of England against the charges brought against them on the subject of the poor-laws, and contended that in England there were as many absentee proprietors as in Ireland; the difference was, that in England, absentees were made to support the poor out of their property, while in Ireland they contributed nothing; hence the poor in England were contented, and in Ireland always ripe for disturbance.

Mr. SADLER contended that the time was come when Government ought to act, and not to deliberate.

It was then ordered that the petition be printed.

I have not time at present to say much in the way of comment upon this debate. Indeed, it does not stand in need of much comment. I should like, if I had time and room, to handle, in the rough manner it deserves, the empty, unmeaning stuff that is here published under the name of TORRENS, who is called a Colonel, whose feats in war I have never heard of, whose pay I have doubtless the honour to contribute

toward, and who has basely calumniated me in a grovelling and dirty paper called the *Globe*, of which this TORRENS, or, as the Irish reporters call him, TORRUNS, and a gabbling fellow of the name of BUCKINGHAM, are the principal proprietors. As to the present stuff, it resembles the stuffs of a piece of brass that shall for the present be nameless; as to this stuff, I take it, not as any-thing spitten or spewed out by TORRENS, but as a production of his countrymen, the reporters, who, from the emptiness of their skulls, and the brass on the outside of those skulls, have sent forth this thing which they call a speech of "*Colonel Torrums*." They do not like poor-laws for Ireland. They like gin and whisky, of which they smell, to the knowledge and the sorrow of those who are destined to come near them. They cannot but know, stupid as they are, that poor-laws would produce peace and happiness in Ireland, but they have a notion that poor-laws for Ireland would cause them to have less gin; less pay, in some way or another; and let the reader be assured that there is not a reporter, or a tax-eater of any description, who would not rather see all the working people in England, and Ireland too, perish, than have one single glass of gin deducted from him. I thank God that Englishmen, in the middle rank of life, and that English gentlemen, too, where they are independent, are beginning to think that justice ought, at last, to be done to Ireland; and that the English name ought not for ever to remain under the curse of having caused millions of the people to exist for so many ages in a more wretched state than any other people upon the face of the whole earth, while their country is one of the very finest upon that whole earth. If we, who are able, join cordially in the work, we shall put an end to the infamy of suffering sinecure parsons and tax-eaters to compel nineteen-twentieths of a whole nation to live, at times, upon sea-weed, nettles, and stinking shell-fish; and, at the very best, upon food that will not fat a hog.

## REFORM BILL.

THE clause relative to the *divisions of counties* has met with an opposition, which, in my opinion, it by no means merits. In some cases it may possibly throw a good deal of influence into the hands of great landowners. After very mature consideration, I am quite convinced that even this will not be the case. But, on the other hand, I am sure that, in numerous instances, it will be greatly advantageous to public liberty; and I should deem it an advantage, upon the whole, if there were, in every county, as many divisions as there are members. I am very sure that such a division would be advantageous to the common people. But, besides this, even if it did give greater influence to the owners of the land, I should see no harm in that; because that influence would not be, and could not be, of a corrupt kind; and no man could have such influence except in proportion to his good character, and his goodness in his neighbourhood. Does any man imagine, that, in the United States, property has no influence in elections; and that every man acts upon his own *inborn* persuasion, not at all influenced by the example, the opinions, or the wishes of the leading man or men of his neighbourhood? If he do think so, never was mortal more mistaken. I remember an election in Pennsylvania when one single family was thought to have been the means of putting in the Governor of the State; a family very numerous, consisting of many very clever and active men, and having great influence, from the great opinion men had of their wisdom. There must be influence of this sort; and there ought to be; but whether there ought or not, there must be and there will be.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, in his plan of Parliamentary Reform, divided the country into districts comparatively small, and rejected the idea of having a great parcel of members all chosen for one county. His reason was, that the main part of the people would never know who their member was; and that, the closer you brought the member

to his constituents, the more direct would be their control over him, and the more strict his responsibility. Besides all this, do people imagine that the same set of notions will prevail after this reform as before it? Will not the Reform itself emancipate men's minds? Did it not do this at the last election even? Will any peer dare to send his steward to give his commands to his tenants and his tradesmen as heretofore? There may be a fool or two to make such an attempt, but I am sure that it will never succeed in one single instance. We have been so long in a state of abject dependence in this respect, that we cannot bring our minds to comprehend the change that this bill will effect. Take us individually, and every man says that he would scorn an interference in the exercise of his rights; but we fear for one another. Every man feels that he himself will be emancipated, but cannot bring himself to believe that the same effect will be produced on other men. Feeling comes at once; but that which is produced by reflection is more tardy. In short, I am quite satisfied that this division of counties is favourable, rather than otherwise, to the rights of the people in general.

With regard also to the right of voting of freeholders for the county, when they happen to reside in cities or towns which are counties of themselves, as in the case of Southampton, Coventry, and so on; I can see no harm that can arise from these freeholders voting in the counties; but, on the contrary, a great deal of good: they add to the number of voters for the county members; and, so far from giving weight to the land, they will, as far as they go, diminish its weight. But they add to the number of voters for the county members; and, generally speaking, they are, in this case, likely to be independent voters.

With regard to Mr. HUME's motion for amending the bill so as to admit members coming from the colonies, one objection is, that it would totally alter the bill. I am sorry that he made the motion, because his conduct, since he became Member for Middlesex, has



been so good that I do not like to see anything to detract from its merit. Mr. HUME should recollect, that, as to the North American Colonies, it would be bringing in so many vipers who would side with any ministry, be it who or what it might, that would rob the people of England in order to give the tax-eaters in those colonies money to go and spend in the more genial climate of the United States. Those colonies are a monstrous burden upon England as it is; they are a mere excuse for the swallowing up of English taxes, and heaping them on parsons and other dependents of the aristocracy who are sent out to those colonies. Besides, those colonies have all their local legislatures; they do not suffer the Parliament to tax them; why then are they to be represented in that Parliament? What voice ought they to have in the making of laws for England, Scotland and Ireland, when all the burdens of war, and of every other sort, lie upon the people of this country? In short, the thing is such that I am quite surprised that it should have been agitated by Mr. HUME.

I am quite satisfied with the bill, only upon condition that another bill is to be brought in to limit the duration of Parliaments. Pass this bill, and repeal the Septennial Act, to do which about forty words are enough; and then I shall say, that he is an unreasonable man who will not cordially assist in giving effect to this bill, and who will not be content without anything further, until, upon a fair trial, this bill shall have been found not to be sufficient.

### CHEAP PUBLICATIONS.

On the 15th instant, Mr. HUME, agreeably to the principles which he has always professed upon this subject, presented a petition upon the subject of cheap publications, taking that opportunity of calling upon the Ministers to repeal those of the *Six Acts* which remain unrepealed, and which are levelled against these publications. The Mi-

nisters seem to have made no answer at all. I will insert the report of what passed, the latter part of which is curious, and then I will make a few remarks.

“Mr. HUME said he had a petition to present on a subject of the greatest importance, intimately connected as it was with the state of the press in this country. It was from a number of persons who had assembled at the Rotunda, in Blackfriars-road, on the 4th of last July. The petition had been put into his hands on the 5th day of July; but he had had no opportunity of presenting it before. The petition was against all laws which prevented the circulation of truth, and which laid imposts on knowledge. No one certainly would deny that the whole community should be rendered as instructed and enlightened as possible, and that ignorance was the bane of society. The petitioners prayed that there should be no longer any laws having for their object to retain the people in ignorance. Many honourable Members might not be aware of the nature of the laws at present affecting the press. By the 60 Geo. III. c. 9 (one of what were commonly known by the name of the *Six Acts*), whoever published a pamphlet containing information or news of less than two sheets in size, and at a less price than sixpence, was compelled to pay the same duty as a newspaper. The rich were by this Act allowed to have information at the same rate as that which they have been accustomed to pay for it; but the poor were precluded from the same privilege. The result was, that for a long period persons abstained from issuing publications such as the Act contemplated; but of late, and in defiance of the law, such a description of pamphlets, containing news and information, had been published as brought those by whom they were published under the operation of the Stamp Act. A Mr. Carpenter was at present suffering under the odious law to which he had alluded. He (Mr. Carpenter) published something in the

shape of a pamphlet, which the officers of Government chose to call a newspaper, but which he called a Political Letter. Now, if there was any thing that had a greater tendency than any thing else to brutalize a people, it was such a law as this. Was not the whole kingdom busy in establishing schools for the poor? But of what use would those schools be, if the law prevented the working classes from having cheap publications to read? Nothing could be devised more hostile to the interests of good government. *The Act in question was passed for the purpose of putting down Cobbett's paper, a twopenny publication; the arguments and ability of which were found to be so inconvenient, that Government determined to adopt that mode of suppressing it.* What was the present consequence of the law? That any man—he did not speak of particular individuals—but that any man who might not have the good of the public at heart, in *defiance of the law, issued publications, many of them containing much that was offensive; among other things challenging the existence of the right of property* (Mr. Hunt expressed his dissent: ‘They do, they do, they do,’ repeated Mr. Hume); and others, who were aware how injurious such doctrines were to the country, were, nevertheless, prevented from contradicting them in the same shape, accessible to the people, for fear of incurring the penalties of the law. He perfectly concurred with the petitioners, therefore, that a tax on knowledge, or the spread of information, was injurious both to individuals and to the community at large. He also concurred with them in the declaration, that every man who was now in prison for having contributed to the diffusion of information was suffering unjustly. He knew no legitimate way of opposing opinions but by arguments; and that opinion which could not be met by argument must be a sound and just one.

“Mr. O’CONNELL said that he had seen several of those publications which did impugn the right of property. They circulated that and other mischief,

which no man could reply to on equally cheap terms, and send his reply among the lower classes, without defying the law. The publishers of such works had, therefore, a monopoly of mischief. He was exceedingly sorry that Government had not brought in a bill for the repeal of the Act in question. It was an Act which had been levelled against an individual; and was most unconstitutional and improper. *It was levelled against Mr. Cobbett, and had compelled him to raise his Register from twopence to sixpence.* Now, though it was impossible to agree to all Mr. Cobbett's opinions, there was no man possessing a spark of common sense who must not say that he was one of the most powerful writers that this or any other country ever produced. The working classes ought not to be deprived of information. They had as much intellect as their superiors in station, and understood reasoning, and, above all, facts, quite as well; and it would be no difficult matter to show them, if the means were afforded, that the evils of violent revolutions in society would be as injurious to them as to the other classes of the community.

“The petition was then brought up and read. On the motion that it lie on the table,

“Mr. HUNT wished to correct an error into which the hon. and learned Member for Kerry had fallen. The Act in question was *not directed against Mr. Cobbett alone*. There was at that time the *Black Dwarf*, conducted by Mr. Wooller, and a number of other cheap publications; although Mr. Cobbett's was undoubtedly the chief of them. *Nor had the immediate effect of the Act been to raise the publication from twopence to sixpence.*

“Mr. O’CONNELL said, that being legally disqualified from selling his *Register* at twopence, *Mr. Cobbett had been compelled to raise the price to sixpence.* If the hon. Member would look at the reports of the debates of those days, he would see that the great object was to put down *Cobbett's Twopenny-‘Trash,’* a name which it was far from deserving.



"Mr. HUNT observed, that the fact was, that *the moment the Act passed, Cobbett left the country*, and (we think the hon. Member for Preston said) the *Register* was not published for a year after.

"The petition was then ordered to lie on the table."

These reporters, as the reader well knows, are much given to LYING; but, from what reason I know not, whenever they have a mind to publish a lie that is at once *glaring, cowardly, and fool-like*, they always choose to make their publication under the name of HUNT. The name of this HUNT seems to engender lies, as some unhappy bodies engender lice; but, at the same time, the lies published under this name are so fool-like; such glaring lies, that they are laughed at by all the world. This reporter says, under the name of this HUNT, that the *Six-Act Bill*, which put a stop to cheap publications, was not the immediate cause of the rise of the price of the *Register* from two-pence to six-pence. What an impudent LIE! The Act was passed on the 30th of December, 1819: the last two-penny *Register* was published on the 6th of January, 1820; and the first six-penny *Register* was published on the 15th of January, 1820. What a bare-faced liar then must this reporter be; and what a FOOL, too. Then the reporter publishes, that, the "*moment the act was passed, Cobbett left the country*." I left the country on the 28th of March, 1817, I returned to it on the 2d of December, 1819, and the Act was passed on the 30th of December, 1819. What a liar and what a fool this reporter must be! The reporter does not keep in mind the old proverb; that a *liar ought to have a good memory*. Liars would be too many for all the rest of mankind if they were not fools as well as liars; but, and it is a fact that every man should bear in mind, look around you, and you will find that you never knew a GREAT LIAR who was not, at the same time, a GREAT FOOL. One quality comes to counter-

act the other; or else all the world would be subdued by liars.

While I am upon this subject, I must notice a set of resolutions published in an excellent country newspaper, called *The Midland Representative and Birmingham Herald*, a paper which I have found to contain as much useful matter as any one that I ever saw in my life. I do not agree with these gentlemen with regard to the extent which they suppose ignorance to prevail amongst the people; but I agree with them most cordially in their hatred of the taxes upon knowledge, and particularly I agree with them with regard to their opinion of Mr. CARPENTER, and I applaud their efforts in his behalf. I insert the account of their meeting, with great pleasure. It is amongst the best efforts that have been made for effecting a restoration of the liberty of the press.

"At a Meeting of Friends to the Free Circulation of Knowledge, held at the Lamp Tavern, in Birmingham, on Tuesday, the 9th instant,

"Mr. LOWE in the Chair,

"The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

"Resolved,

"1. That the duties and other restrictions on Newspapers and cheap publications (commonly called the TAXES on KNOWLEDGE) tend to perpetuate ignorance, and consequently to debase man's noblest faculties; that these taxes were not imposed to meet the necessary expenses of Government, but to restrain the working classes from acquiring political knowledge; that such knowledge ought to be as extensively diffused as possible among all classes of the people, and that, therefore, all TAXES on KNOWLEDGE ought to be abolished.

"Resolved,

"2. That this Meeting witnesses with indignation the prosecutions of cheap publications carried on by a Ministry, the leading members of which declared, before accepting office, their detestation of the acts which authorise such prosecutions; and they, accordingly, feel it

their duty, to denounce the hypocrisy of such unprincipled conduct.

"Resolved,

"3. That we witness with regret, not unmixed with indignation, the readiness of Government, in granting an enormous annuity for educating a Princess, whose station must necessarily facilitate for her every advantage of education, whilst it postpones the consideration of a question, on the result of which must mainly depend the confirmed ignorance or knowledge of a whole people.

"Resolved,

"4. That the subscription set on foot by the 'British Association for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge,' meets with the hearty concurrence of this meeting, and that books of subscription, in aid thereof, be opened in Birmingham, under the direction of a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Guest, Haynes, Lowe, Massey, Morrison, Powell, and Parker, it being understood that the liberation of Mr. Carpenter be the first object of the Subscription.

"Resolved,

5. "That Mr. Morrison be Secretary, and Mr. Haynes Treasurer.

"Resolved,

"6. That these resolutions be advertised in the *Midland Representative*.

THOMAS LOWE, Chairman.

"7. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Lowe, for his able conduct in the chair.

WILLIAM MAY.

"Receipt Tickets for Penny Subscriptions, may be had, and subscriptions received, at the following places:

"Mr. JINKS, Political Union Office.

"The *Midland Representative* office.

"Mr. GUEST, 91, Steelhouse-lane.

"Mr. LOWE, 13, Bartholomew-street.

"Mr. BLAND, Lamp Tavern, Beak-st.

"Mr. MORRISON, 25, Northwood-st.

"The *Co-operative Bazaar*, 15, Ludgate-hill.

"The Committee meets at the Lamp Tavern, Beak-street, every Wednesday evening, from 7 till 8 o'clock, for the purpose of receiving the subscriptions from the collectors and others.

"JAMES MORRISON, Secretary."

## BEER BILL.

THERE is a bill before the House of Lords to cramp the sellers of beer under the new Act. It is a strange thing that the people cannot be left to follow their own taste, even with regard to what they can pay for to go down their throats. They must be everlastingly watched and superintended as if they were babies. It is a nitch for interference with them: this bill is, it seems, to shorten the hours during which they might drink; and, to ease the Magistrates of the trouble of superintendence, it is intended to authorise the constables to enter the houses of drink, and interfere at their discretion, *without any warrant from a magistrate*. Thus the system creeps on dispensing with the old forms which were intended to secure men's personal liberty, and thus it will creep on until it tear itself to pieces, unless it be saved by justice and wisdom coming in time, and putting a stop to the destruction. I shall insert an account of what took place in the House of Lords. The reader will require no commentary; but I will just add this remark, namely, that there never will be any prevention to men's assembling in great numbers to drink, and that, too, very frequently, and sometimes noisily, until the tax be taken from the malt and the hops. Then every man will have beer in his own house, as he had formerly, and as he always ought to have had.

"Lord MELBOURNE moved the second reading of the bill which he had brought in for the amendment of the Beer Act. One great object of this bill was to strengthen the power of the constables in regard to the visiting of these houses. The constables had no power to enter these premises at present, except under the warrant of a magistrate; but it was provided in this bill that the constables should have the power of entering these houses at any time when there should be riots in them, or when they should have company in them at prohibited hours, without any warrant from a Magistrate.

"The Duke of WELLINGTON threw it out as a matter for consideration, whether



it would not be proper that the hours for these to be open ought not to be *restricted to the usual hours of labour*, and that none of them should be allowed to be open beyond *four o'clock in the winter time and six o'clock in the summer time*. His object in this was to prevent tippling in these beer-houses after the hours of work.

"The LORD CHANCELLOR gave no opinion at present as to the propriety of a clause to the effect mentioned by the noble Duke, who had himself only suggested the matter for consideration. Whether the houses should be shut at four o'clock in the evening in winter, and at six o'clock in summer, might be a subject for discussion. But it would be necessary to consider whether any such provision could be introduced consistently with the Beer Act. The great object was to prevent the abusing the liberty and the advantages obtained by the Beer Act, without at all touching the principle. To increase the price of the licenses too much, would be in effect to repeal the Act; and it was questionable whether to require peremptorily that these houses should be shut at four in winter and six o'clock in the summer, as suggested by the noble Duke, would not materially trench on the principle of the Act. The great object was, to give to the public the full advantage of the Act, without allowing it to be converted into an instrument of mischief.

"Lord TENTERDEN agreed in the principle, that the hours during which these houses were to remain open should be limited; but did not think that they ought to be peremptorily shut *immediately after the hours of labour*. He thought that some time should be *allowed to labourers to refresh themselves at those houses after their work*; and therefore, instead of four o'clock in winter, and six in summer, as proposed by the noble Duke, he should say, *seven o'clock in winter and eight or nine in summer*.

"Lord MELBOURNE thought it probable, that the evils which had been complained of, as resulting from this bill, had been owing to the *reduction in the*

*price of beer*; and the object was, to apply a remedy for these evils, without trenching on the principle of the Act. As to the shutting of houses of this description, provision had been made by an Act of William the Third, and great complaints had been made that such houses had been directed to be shut at unnecessarily early hours.

"Lord TENTERDEN hoped that the *cause of the complaint would be increased*.

"The Bishop of LONDON called the attention of the noble Secretary to a point to which he had occasion to advert before the noble Secretary came into the House—he alluded to the profanation of the Sabbath, which was occasioned by the Beer Act as it stood. As an instance of its effects in this respect he might mention a well authenticated fact:—A young man had come home to his father's house from one of these beer houses at a late hour on Sunday morning, and his father in consequence immediately called at five or six of the houses and found persons drinking in them at that hour. A great increase had taken place in the profanation of the Sabbath in consequence of the Beer Act, and he thought that the time during which these houses might be open on Sundays should be limited to that which was absolutely necessary for supplying poor families with beer.

"Lord WYNFORD: It had been provided by the Beer Act that constables might be authorized by magistrates to enter these houses if kept open after undue hours. It was proposed by the present bill to alter this, and to enact that the constable, in case of riots occurring in these houses, or their being kept open at improper hours, might enter without any magisterial authority; and he should propose, in addition to this, that any inhabitant of a place in which there should be any of these houses, might call upon a constable to enter the houses on his representing to the constable that something improper was going on in them; and that the constable should be bound to enter on that requisition.

"Lord MELBOURNE was of opinion, that the purpose might be answered by enabling the constables to enter of their own authority if riots occurred in the houses, or if they were kept open after ten o'clock at night.

"The Bishop of LONDON thought that these beer houses should not be allowed on the Sundays to remain an anomaly as compared with other shops. They ought not to be allowed to remain open during the whole day, but only for a certain time, and that merely for the purpose of selling out beer to families, without being allowed to sell beer to be consumed on the premises.

"The bill was read a second time, and committed for Thursday next."

### BELGIUM AND POLAND.

I HAVE got my prayer: the French are in Belgium, with an apparent resolution not to come out of it again. My reasons for this prayer I have stated over and over again, and more particularly last week. I am no citizen of the world. It is quite enough for me to think about what is best for England, Ireland and Scotland. I do not like those whose philanthropy is so enlarged as to look, as Rousseau said, to Tartary for objects of affection and commiseration, while their own countrymen are starving, or existing on sea-weed and nettles. I do not approve of any efforts to urge our Government to interfere at all in the affairs even of Poland: it is too distant, too out of the way of our affairs, that we should take one single meal from a weaver or a ploughman for the sake of doing good to the Poles. Our great folly has been that of foreign interference: we cannot interfere for good, in such a case as this, while the interference is sure to bring burdens upon ourselves in some way or other. But if we have the freedom of Poland anxiously at heart, what is so likely to effect it as the possession of Belgium by the French? We have only to stand still and mind our own affairs: let the French alone, and they will mow down

the despots. I think more of any one of the nine or seven mouths of the Mississippi than I do of all the kingdoms of the continent put together, France excepted; and let her alone upon the land, and she is no more an object of terror to us than any of the rest.

The boroughmongers seem to be monstrously anxious to get the *Ministers into a war by some means or another*. They know that, amongst other things, a war would throw the Reform Bill into a state of confusion; they hope that, amidst Bank stoppage, sales of paper-money, loanmongering, Exchequer-billing, and wheat at 25 shillings, or 30 shillings a bushel, all would be uproar and confusion, and that the boroughs might escape in the bustle. In short, the boroughmongers are like the fellow that was going to be hanged for murder, and who prayed devoutly for an earthquake. Oh! no! the Ministers are not fools to this point. It is curious to observe the various tricks that have been played to get from them some expression or other *hostile to the French*. The object is to embroil the two countries, somehow or another. The Ministers seem resolved, however, not to suffer them to be embroiled, and in this they are acting a very wise part; and a twelvemonth will not pass over their heads before the boroughmongers themselves will have to thank them for their conduct. Leave the despots to the French, and let us have a sensible and not a fraudulent commercial treaty with France, if we can get it. Let us drink her wine if we like, and let her people have knives and forks fit for Christians to eat with, and such other things as we can always supply her with better than she can supply herself. This is what ought to be, and what will be, whenever boroughmongering shall be completely extinguished. *Guarantees*, indeed! what have we to do with guaranteeing dominions and titles upon the continent? We have paid pretty dearly for this work of guaranteeing. The embassies to Vienna, Petersburg, Berlin, and other continental states, with which we have nothing to do, cost us



annually half the rental of a small county. These negotiations about Belgium, with which we had nothing to do, have cost us half the year's rental of Bedfordshire. It is thus that our substance is wasted; it is thus that our industrious people are beggared; it is thus that the laborious ploughman, and the ingenious maker of cloth and of cottons and of silks, are doomed to eke out a short life of half starvation. When men think of these things, they must curse the hour when foreign interference first found its way into the head of an English minister.

No. VI.

## HISTORY

OF THE

### REGENCY AND REIGN OF GEO. IV.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

(Continued from No. 2, col. 121. Vol. 73.)

118. Thus Perceval really ruled the country in precisely what manner he pleased. He was the master of all the classes in the country. The Whigs had the confidence of nobody; nobody could indulge expectations of any good arising from a change of men in power; the danger from BUONAPARTE and the French nation became daily greater and greater; and people of property, deeming things in a very uncertain state, still clung to the government, apparently totally regardless of what were, or might be, its deeds, or their consequences. Lord ELLENBOROUGH, who had been a cabinet minister, along with the Whigs, but who, pretty much regardless of party connexions, was a stickler, and armed at all points for the defence of those who wielded the powers of the state; ELLENBOROUGH was lord chief justice of the Court of King's Bench; GIBBS was attorney-general; whole troops of victims to the libel law were crammed into jails, the corrupt part of the press was more audacious than ever, and the other part of it (never very considerable) was reduced nearly to silence. But human enjoyments of every description are of uncertain duration: political power, when founded on force, is of a nature still more mutable than human enjoyments in general; of which observations this haughty and insolent PERCEVAL was destined, in the spring of 1812, to afford to the world a striking, a memorable, and a most awful example. He had got possession of the highest office in the state; by *his secret*, relative to the PRINCESS and her EOC

fluence with the PRINCE REGENT for their joint lives; he had bent the proud necks of the landlords to fine, imprisonment, or transportation, if they attempted to make inroads on his system to support the all corrupting paper money; the press he had extinguished or had rendered the tool of his absolute will; the most eminent amongst the writers who opposed him, COBBETT (the author of this History,) LEIGH and JOHN HUNT, FINNERTY, DRAKARD, LOVEL, together with many more, were closely shut up in jail, for long terms, with heavy fines on their heads, and long bail at the termination of their imprisonment. Not content with all this, he meditated the complete subjugation of London to the control and command of a military force. Not only did he meditate this but had the audacity to propose it to the Parliament; and if his life had not been taken in the evening of 11th of May, 1812, he, that very evening, was going to propose, in due form, a resolution for the establishment of a permanent army to be stationed in Marybonne Park, for the openly avowed purpose of *keeping the metropolis in awe*.

119. The site of this fortress was to be in Marybonne, Park, or, as it is now called, the Regent's Park. The area was to contain twenty-seven statute acres of ground, and it was to be surrounded by a wall of great height and thickness, so as to make it proof against any thing but a regular assault by bombs and cannon. It was to contain foot, horse, and artillery; and the report of PERCEVAL's speech upon the subject made him say, that "fatal consequences might arise from the separation of men from their horses, because, in cases of need, the people might intercept the men in their way to their horses." It was also said in plain terms, in justification of the measure, that this new species of fortress was to serve as a place of lodgment or garrison for other troops, in case of their being brought to the metropolis for the purpose of upholding the government. In vain did men refer to the principles of the constitution; in vain did they represent, that a standing soldiery, and that barracks and inland fortresses, were wholly unknown to our forefathers; in vain was all this said, the country was humbled; it had been brought down by its fears, by the new and heavy burdens that had been laid upon it, and especially by the frequent suspensions of the Act of Habeas Corpus, by the new treason-laws, and by divers other measures, and by all the whole series of acts which had been passed during the preceding twenty-two years. The press was brought down to a state of perfect slavery; and a thing which ought never to be forgotten, both the political parties joined together most cordially in approving of this oppression of the press; a remarkable proof of which occurred in the result of a motion made, in the House of Commons, on the 20th of March, 1811, by Lord Viscount FOLKESTONE; a motion the object of which was, to call to

account and to reprove the then Attorney-General GIBBS for the use which he had made of the power of prosecuting on *ex-officio* informations. After a long debate, begun by Lord FOLKESTONE, in a speech which never can be forgotten by the people of England, there appeared upon the division only 33 for the motion, and 121 against it. Not one single man of the persons called the *Whigs*, who had ever taken any conspicuous part in public matters, was found to vote for the motion, with the exception of Sir JOHN NEWPORT and Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY. So that the press either lay totally prostrate, or was made use of for the purpose of upholding PERCEVAL and his iron system of government. Against his measure for establishing the inland fortress scarcely a man in parliament opened his mouth, and the few that did were laughed at as fools, or reviled as traitors by the London press, it being unsafe for any man boldly to write in their defence.

120. It was in this state of things, and with a resolution ready prepared, and in his pocket, to move for the establishment of Marybonne Park fortress, while special commissions were announced to go into the North to try men for what was called "*rioting*," in the counties of York, Nottingham, Chester, Leicester, Stafford, and Lancaster; it was in this state of things, and thus armed and prepared, that PERCEVAL walked into the lobby of the House of Commons in the evening of the 11th of May; feeling that he had this once high-spirited nation at his feet; seeing every one bow and crouch before him; it was just at this moment that a bullet entered his heart, and brought him down dead in that lobby!

121. To stop here to moralise would be a thing not compatible with my plan, which here demands a true account of the cause of his death. A man named JOHN BELLINGHAM, who had been a merchant at Liverpool, and who had, according to his own account at least, experienced very great losses owing to wrongs done him by the merchants, the courts, and the government, in Russia, to which country he traded, in which country he had been, in which country he had made many applications to the English minister for redress; having obtained no redress, he returned to England, where, wearied out with useless applications for redress which he made to divers departments of the government here, he, at last, became desperate, and resolved to get rid of his life, but to take revenge on some one of the government. For this purpose, he went into the lobby of the House of Commons, armed with two pistols well loaded. He there sat him down on a bench, waiting the arrival of the ministers; and PERCEVAL being the first of them that entered the lobby, he deliberately rose from his seat, and shot him dead, the ball actually going through his heart. Having done this, he returned to his seat without saying a word, having put the pistol back again into his pocket; and, if he had risen in a minute or two afterwards, and

had walked quietly out into the street, he would have escaped, and the committer of the murder would never have been known unless he had chosen to divulge it; but, having no desire to escape, and hearing people demand "*Where's the murderer! Where's the murderer!*" he rose from his seat and very placidly said, "I am the man that killed Mr. PERCEVAL: and here is the pistol with which I killed him." he was instantly seized; as soon as a troop of horseguards could be brought he was sent to Newgate. He was tried as soon as possible, and, of course, underwent the penalty of the law due to wilful and premeditated murder. His conduct in prison, at his trial, and at the place of execution, all indicated that he had for some time been bereft of his sober senses; and proved that he was one of those unhappy men who are driven to a state of insanity by not being able to bear misfortunes, and especially misfortunes proceeding from what they deem wrongs. Nothing can exceed the consternation with which this deed filled the parliament, and all persons engaged in the government. The Speaker of the House of Commons (ABBOTT) ordered the doors to be locked, and ordered some of the members to go before, and others to follow, the prisoner, to assist the serjeant-at-arms to defeat any attempt that might be made at a rescue. The alarm in the House of Lords was still greater. All the forms of proceeding were cast aside; the LORD CHANCELLOR himself immediately made a motion for shutting the doors in order to prevent further mischief being perpetrated. In the meanwhile, the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND had been and seen the dead body; and came into the House of Lords and declared the fact. The Lord Chief Justice (ELLENBOROUGH), who was, when the murder was committed, sitting on a trial in the Court of King's Bench, and who upon hearing of what had happened, had quitted his court, leaving plaintiffs and defendants and counselors and jurors, all in a fright, hurried into the House of Lords, where he soon moved that some evidence might be taken at the bar, in order to ground thereon a regular proceeding of some sort. This was at once agreed to; and, after evidence had been produced and taken down in great haste, proving that PERCEVAL had been killed in the lobby of the Commons, the House hastily passed a resolution, addressing the Regent upon the subject, requesting him to issue a proclamation for the speedy prosecution of the offender or offenders; and, this motion having passed, the House immediately adjourned to two o'clock the next day.

122. BELLINGHAM was first dragged into the House of Commons, thither he was followed by the people in the lobby; so that the House was filled cram full with members, reporters, spectators, messengers, and persons of all descriptions, mingled pell-pell; so that it was nearly an hour before any thing like order could be restored, and before men ap-



peared to know what they were at. In the meanwhile, however, the news of the deed and of its result had spread itself in every direction throughout this immense metropolis; and, before BELLINGHAM was brought out, from fifty to a hundred thousand persons had assembled in the area before and near the house of parliament; and their expressions and exclamations on the subject were by no means calculated to quiet the alarms of those within. The prisoner, BELLINGHAM, having been examined, he was about to be conveyed to a coach which was brought for the purpose of receiving him, at a quarter before eight o'clock. This coach, which had been sent for by the order of the magistrates, immediately occupied the attention of the people. The prisoner was taken from the committee-room, and guarded by the messengers and police-officers to the southern entrance of the House of Commons. One of the officers came out and entered the carriage, and the opposite door was immediately pulled open amidst the cheers of the people. Upon this the officers returned to the prison-room, and informed the chairman of the magistrates, that he did not think it secure to proceed with the prisoner *without the aid of a military force*. In consequence of this report, a troop of horse-guards were sent for, who soon arrived full armed, with pistols, swords, and carabines. The people expressed great dissatisfaction at the appearance of the soldiers, who, however, remained opposite the parliament-house until midnight, when the prisoner, brought along a private passage, was put into a coach, accompanied by several police-officers and one of the members of the House of Commons, who was also a justice of the peace. The coach, thus filled, and driving at a great rate, was guarded by the soldiers, and, by these means, about one o'clock in the morning of the 12th of May, BELLINGHAM was lodged in the prison of Newgate.

123. The alarm by no means subsided. The two houses of parliament met on the 12th; and the House of Lords did nothing but resolve to adjourn from day to day. The extent of the alarm may easily be guessed at from the reported words of the Lord Chancellor, ELDON, upon the occasion: "He trusted that the noble Lords would give him credit, when he declared that the state of the country was such that it was necessary that the house should sit from day to day, in order to be ready to take such steps as circumstances might require; for it was impossible to say what might happen in the course of a few days." The fears, so clearly manifested in this speech, had arisen from the persuasion, that BELLINGHAM must have had some accomplices or instigators; and, indeed, that his conduct had proceeded from a plan concerted in the northern counties, or at least, that there was some sort of connexion between him and the persons engaged in the disturbances in those counties. Owing to the same persuasion, all the troops near at hand were called out

under arms as soon as the death of PERCEVAL was known; and, at Windsor (then the place of residence of the king, queen, and princesses), the greatest consternation prevailed in the evening, and during the night, of the 11th. A regiment of dragoons, quartered in the barrack on Hounslow Heath, were marched thence to Colnbrook, on the road between London and Windsor.

124. These alarms were augmented by what every one who reflects must look upon as a very great indiscretion on the part of government; namely, the causing to be published officially, in the *London Gazette*, divers stupid anonymous threatening letters, of which official publications the following is a curious and, I trust, a never again to be imitated specimen:

"Whitehall, May, 19, 1812.

"Whereas it has been humbly represented  
"to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent,  
"that the following anonymous threatening  
"letters have been sent to the right hon.  
"Colonel M'Mahon.

"Provisions cheaper—*Bread or Blood*—  
"Tell your Master he is a *Damn'd unfeeling*  
"*Scoundrel*, and if he don't attend to the  
"above, *Death* shall be his portion, and  
"that soon, it's come to the point now, and  
"we are determined to strike the decisive  
"blow.

"Vox Populi.

"May 12, 1812.

"Addressed to Colonel M'Mahon,

"Carlton-House Pall-Mall.

"George Prince of Wales. Take care of  
"yourself for your life is in danger, you  
"shall meet the same fate as Mr. Perceval  
"if Billenghall is hung before this reach you.  
"You blackguard you shall be shot before  
"three months is elapsed if Billenghall is  
"hung you shall be shot as sure as I re-  
"main, an Enemy to all the damned Royal  
"Family.

"Addressed to his Royal Highness the  
"Prince Regent,  
"Windsor.

"With Speed."

"His Royal Highness, for the better ap-  
"prehending and bringing to justice the per-  
"sons concerned in writing and sending  
"the anonymous letters above-mentioned, is  
"hereby pleased, in the name and on the be-  
"half of his Majesty, to promise his Majesty's  
"most gracious pardon to any one of them  
"(except the person who actually wrote the  
"said letters) who shall discover his, her, or  
"their accomplice or accomplices therein, so  
"that he, she, or they may be apprehended  
"and convicted thereof. R. RYDER.

"And, as a further encouragement, a re-  
"ward of ONE THOUSAND POUNDS is hereby  
"offered to any person making such discovery  
"as aforesaid (except as is before excepted),  
"to be paid on the conviction of any one or  
"more of the offenders by the Right Hon. the

"Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury."

125. While these letters were, according to the date of the first of them, being sent in the manner which is stated in the proclamation, other indications were shown of the discontents of the people. Upon the news of the death of PERCEVAL arriving at Nottingham, at Leicester, at Truro, and indeed all over the country, demonstrations of joy were shown by the ringing of bells, the making of bonfires, and the like; and, at Nottingham particularly, soldiers were called out to disperse the people upon the occasion. Looked at soberly, here were no grounds for alarm. Those who write anonymous letters, very seldom act according to those letters. The very act itself shows that the party writing or sending is afraid to do anything; and as to the writings on the walls in London, "*Rescue BELLINGHAM, or die,*" these were too low to bestow even contempt upon; besides that, a wise government would have considered that writings of this description might have been, and very likely were, the offspring of men who wished to see severe laws passed against the people, and who really had no object in view but that of calumniating the people, and causing them to be enslaved.

126. Nothing ever heard of in man can exceed the calmness with which BELLINGHAM met his fate. He committed the deed on the Monday, was tried on the Friday, and was executed the next Monday morning at eight o'clock. He wrote to his wife on the Sunday night a letter, in which he spoke in the greatest calmness of her and of his children; told her that he sent her his watch and his prayer-book, and prayed God to preserve her and her children. After writing this letter, he went to sleep as if nothing extraordinary was expected in the morning. During the trial on the Friday, troops had been placed in readiness at no great distance from the Sessions-house where he was tried. For the time of execution, a larger portion of troops had been provided. Some thousands of soldiers were in motion by five o'clock, and many bodies of military were assembled by six, taking their stations, as the government papers informed the public, in convenient places, least likely to excite the people's attention. At the place of execution, the prisoner thanked God for having enabled him to meet his fate with so much fortitude and resignation. At the moment when the hangman was making the usual preparations; at the moment that he was going out of the world; at the moment when he was expecting every breath to be his last, his ears were saluted with "*God bless you, God bless you, God Almighty bless you, God Almighty bless you!*" issuing from the lips of many thousands of persons. The newspapers informed the public that a few persons exclaimed "*BELLINGHAM for ever!*" Others stated that there were many persons anxious to possess some relic of the deceased; and that the great-coat in which he was executed was sold for ten pounds, while other parts of his dress were

bought at a price equally exorbitant. The buttons of his clothes were all sold at high prices.

127. These circumstances are of importance only as they show what the feeling of the nation was at this time. With regard to the fact of the offender going out of the world amidst the blessings of the people, I, the author of this History, can vouch for its truth, having been an eye and ear-witness of the awful and most memorable scene, standing, as I did, at the window of that prison out of which he went to be executed, and into which I had been put in consequence of a prosecution ordered by this very PERCEVAL, and the result of which prosecution was a sentence to be imprisoned *two years* amongst felons in Newgate, to pay *a thousand pounds* to the PRINCE REGENT at the end of the two years, and to be held in bonds for *seven years* afterwards; all which was executed upon me to the very letter, except that I rescued myself from the society of the felons by a cost of twenty guineas a week, for the *hundred and four weeks*; and all this I had to suffer for having published a paragraph, in which I expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militia-men, at the town of Ely, in England, *under a guard of Hanoverian bayonets*. From this cause, I was placed in a situation to witness the execution of this unfortunate man. The crowd was assembled in the open space just under the window at which I stood. I saw the anxious looks; I saw the half-horrified countenances; I saw the mournful tears run down; and I heard the unanimous blessings. What, then, were these tears shed, and these blessings bestowed by Englishmen, upon a murderer! He was a murderer, to be sure; the act was unjustifiable; there is no defence to be offered for it without an abandonment of every principle of justice known amongst men; but, the people did not rejoice because a murder had been committed; they did not shed tears for and bless BELLINGHAM because he had committed a murder; but because his act, clearly wicked as it was in itself, had ridded them of one whom they looked upon as the leader amongst those whom they thought totally bent on the destruction of their liberties. In a speech which the MARQUESS of WELLESLEY was reported to have made a few days after this affair took place, the people of England were described as having become ferocious and bloody. Not they, indeed. Their character was in nothing changed; they were still the same humane people; had still the same horror at the shedding of blood as their fathers had been famed for for a thousand years. Their conduct upon this occasion only shows, and it does show in the most striking light, the deep discontent that they felt at the terrible laws that had been passed, and were almost daily passing, to abridge their liberties, and to deprive them of all security, whether for property, limb, or life.

128. The House of Commons, having re-



covered from their fright, made the first use of that recovery by proceeding to take measures for granting sums of public money to the family of the deceased Minister, the particulars of which grants will be a subject of observation hereafter. In addition to the money, they resolved upon a monument to his memory, as they did in the case of PITT. One Member proposed a *public funeral*, attended by all the heraldic insignia and officers of the King, and to be paid for out of the public money. This intended honour was, however, desisted from, for reasons at which every reader will be able to guess, after what has been said of the feelings of the people. The funeral took place on Saturday the 16th of May, at the unusual hour of seven o'clock in the morning, when the body was put into a hearse, and carried to the little village of Charlton, in Kent, about eight miles from London. Whether by accident or not, a considerable body of cavalry-soldiers marched along the same road the funeral went, a short distance before the hearse. Thus fell SPENCER PERCEVAL, at the threshold of the House of Commons, in the 50th year of his age; and, which is not, perhaps, wholly unworthy of notice, he fell on the anniversary of the ever-memorable day of the making of Mr. MADDOX's motion respecting the conduct of this same PERCEVAL, and into the grounds of which motion the honourable body to which they both belonged refused to inquire. Alas! how fleeting are human triumphs, and how capricious is the exercise of human power! With those majorities, those overwhelming majorities, by the means of which he had so often yielded protection to others, when assailed with all the artillery of political warfare, he was not able to protect himself against a little bit of lead scarcely surpassing in bulk a single knot of a *cat-o'-nine-tails*!

129. This event was productive of very great consequences. It took away the head of the faction that were in power, and opened the way for new intrigues on the part of the Whigs, who were all alive and in action immediately; but, before I speak of that intrigue and of the curious manner in which they were again kept out of place, let me speak of the other consequences of the death of PERCEVAL. He had *Special Commissions* in his eye ready for the counties of the North. These dwindled into nothing directly, and, as to the fortress in *Marybonne Park*, as to that daring project, it never was again heard of, and never has been mentioned in Parliament from that day to this. Dreadful menaces were uttered by violent men; menaces incessant: the clergy and other bodies; but particularly the clergy, addressed the Regent, and called upon him for vigorous measures. The Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Archdeacons and clergy, of the diocese of Salisbury, in their address to the Regent upon this occasion, called PERCEVAL "an upright Minister, and one of the brightest examples of public and private virtue;" they tell the Regent that,

"as Ministers of religion, they are called upon to *strenuously exert themselves* against those who have *stirred up the people to outrage against good Government*." They accuse part of the people of being *domestic traitors*, carrying on their secret machinations, and they say that they rest with confidence on the Supreme Disposer of all events, and firmly trust, that under his continued protection, the councils of the Prince Regent will be characterised by that *energy and decision* which are best calculated to allay internal turbulence, and to carry on the war to a successful conclusion. This was the language of the clergy of a whole diocese, with the Bishop at their head, and this was the language which distinguished all the public addresses and other papers of the clergy, from the beginning to the end of that long and bloody and fatal war, which loaded the nation with a debt, which is now (1831) shaking the state to its very centre, and is producing, with regard to tithes and other church revenues, that very event which these clergy of the church urged the carrying on of the war for the sole purpose of preventing.

130. But, now, how was the place of PERCEVAL to be supplied? If the public in general had known the parties well, they would have seen no necessity for going out of PERCEVAL's Ministry to find a successor for him; there were Lords LIVERPOOL and CASTLE-REAGH; there were Lords SIDMOUTH and HARROWBY and BATHURST; in short, there was not a man amongst them who was not as fit to be Prime Minister as PERCEVAL himself, and who was destitute of no one quality for carrying on the affairs of that system of Government as well as he, save and except that no man was quite equal to him in point of unsparing severity, and of undisguised disregard for the people and for their sufferings on account of the burdens imposed upon them. But the nation was grown heartily tired of the war; it despaired of seeing an end to it without utter ruin to the country; the expenditure was arrived at an amount that frightened even loan-mongers and stock-jobbers; and the shock given to people's confidence by PERCEVAL's recent acts, which had proclaimed to the whole world the fact of the depreciation of the paper-money; these things made even the pretended exclusively loyal secretly rejoice at his death, which they could not help hoping would lead to some very material change in the managing of the affairs of the country. The clergy were still staunch to the system of war and of boundless taxation; but the main part of the people were not; on the contrary, it was the general desire that a change of men in power should take place.

131. It was clearly the desire of the PRINCE REGENT and of the QUEEN, and of a great part of the proprietors of boroughs, that no change of men should take place; but the difficulty was, to accomplish this desire, which was to disappoint the nation, and still to preserve the appearance of not having op-

posed this desire; in other words, the difficulty was, to have it appear that the prince, and the court, and the borough proprietors, were willing that there should be a change; and yet, at the same time, effectually to prevent that change. To bring in the Whigs was a thing desired by nobody but themselves; but to bring in some of them, and some others that played a double game between the two factions, and thus form what was termed a strong and united Government, was a great favourite with a large part of the people of every class of life. How this favourite object was defeated; how PERCEVAL's set were retained in power, taking Lord Liverpool from amongst them and putting him at the head, I am now about to relate.

132. The MARQUESS of WELLESLEY and CANNING had both, at one time, belonged to the PERCEVAL Administration; but both, upon some pretence or other, had retired from it, the true reason being, that each of them wanted to be master; and that, for the reasons before-stated, PERCEVAL was necessarily the master of the whole, and thus must have been, for the joint lives of himself and the PRINCE REGENT. The first step, therefore, which the REGENT was advised to take, was to authorise LIVERPOOL to open a negotiation with WELLESLEY and CANNING, offering them posts in a new-modelled Ministry; but they being given clearly to understand that neither of them was to be the head of the Ministry, declined making a part of that Ministry. There was now a danger that WELLESLEY and CANNING would join Lords GREVILLE and GREY and the Whigs, which would have formed a party too strong for LIVERPOOL, ELDON, and their set, to resist, especially at such a time of general depression in the country, on the eve of a war with America, in the midst of a stagnation of trade, and almost suspension of manufactures, and when several of the counties of the North were in a very turbulent state, added to which was the depreciation of the paper-money, and the expenditure, which was now become perfectly enormous.

133. To prevent a union between these two parties, the PRINCE REGENT was next advised to commission WELLESLEY to form an Administration. WELLESLEY and CANNING were conjoined in the business. That was clearly understood. They first made their overtures to LIVERPOOL and his colleagues, who drily, but flatly, rejected them. WELLESLEY next addressed himself to Lords GREY and GRENVILLE, LIVERPOOL well-knowing that they would never come in unless they were at the head. After a great deal of very unmeaning correspondence between them, they also rejected the proposition of WELLESLEY. Here the matter would have rested, the PERCEVAL Administration would have remained, quite to the satisfaction of the PRINCE REGENT and the courtiers; the Prince would have been exculpated from all blame for not having done his best to obtain a strong and united Administration, and the Perceval Ministry would

have remained without another word said about the matter. But there was Lord MOIRA in the way: PERCEVAL being gone, the PRINCE, for very powerful reasons, wished to provide for Lord MOIRA. Yet, Lord MOIRA, having always belonged to the Whigs, how was he to be brought into a Ministry with Liverpool and the rest of the Perceval set without incurring the charge of having deserted his party? This was a nice point; it was a seemingly insuperable obstacle, yet it was overcome, and Lord MOIRA found it consistent to join with LIVERPOOL and the PERCEVAL crew. WELLESLEY's power to form a Ministry was declared to be at an end; and Lord MOIRA was authorised by the PRINCE to form a new administration. He made his overtures, of course, to Lords GREY and GRENVILLE: at first he did it unofficially, in letters to Lord GREY; but finding that the fish would not bite without authority on the hook, he obtained the authority, and then made his overtures, which, however, were at last rejected. In the course of his letters to GREY, Lord MOIRA had expressed his dissatisfaction at the course taken by the two Whig Lords; therefore, when they finally rejected his overtures, he declared himself at liberty to separate from them for the purpose of aiding his royal master to carry on the Government; and thus the PERCEVAL administration still continued, with the sole admission of Lord MOIRA into an office having no sort of weight as connected with political matters; and LIVERPOOL, who had remained silent and snug all the while, not seeming at all to expect the great powers about to be placed in his hands, found himself, one Tuesday morning, First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister; and VANSITTART, who had brought in the famous resolution about the one-pound note and the shilling in 1811, was appointed his Chancellor of the Exchequer. (*To be continued.*)

*Kensington, August 19th, 1831.*

I HAVE this moment received the letter of Mr. HOWIE, dated at Manchester, on the 16th instant. The *Register* must be in the press in two hours from this time: it is, therefore, impossible for me, in this *Register*, to give an answer, in suitable terms, to a letter containing matter of so much importance. My next *Register* shall contain the answer, and, in the meanwhile, I beg Mr. HOWIE to be assured that I feel, much more strongly than I can express, the very great honour which my friends at Manchester, and he in particular, have done me.

WM. COBBETT.



*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1831.

## INSOLVENTS.

DEUDNEY, G., Deptford, seed-crusher.  
DUFTON, W., Basinghall-street, wool-dealer.

## BANKRUPTS.

BUCKLER, J., Coventry, builder.  
BUTTRESS, L., London-terrace, Hackney-road, builder.  
COWLING, E., Poultry, haberdasher.  
DEWHURST, T., Liverpool, ironmonger.  
HEBBLEWHITE, W., Manchester, commission-agent.  
JAMES, J., Meeting-house-court, Old Jewry, merchant.  
PALMER, W., Pencoyd, Herefords, clothier.  
PETTY, J., Liverpool, coal-merchant.  
THIRLBY, W., Ibstock Lodge, Leicestersh., farmer.  
WILSON, H., Riding-house-lane, St. Mary-lebone, timber-merchant.  
WILSON, J., Liverpool, mercer.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1831.

## INSOLVENTS.

CROWNSHAW, T., Sheffield, victualler.  
GREENOUGH, R., Manchester, cotton-manu.  
HODGSON, J., Nicholas-lane, insurance-br.  
NETTLEFOLD, T. and W. Reid, Francis-st., Tottenham-ct.-rd., furnishing-ironmongers.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

COLE, V., Bordesley, Warwicks., victualler.

## BANKRUPTS.

ALDERSON, R., Crawford-street, St. Mary-lebone, linen-draper.  
ANDREW, J., Nottingham, money-scrivener.  
HERVEY, J., J. Robinson, and R. Hervey, Manchester, manufacturing-chemists.  
JENKINS, R., Neath, Glamorgans., victualler.  
PETERS, P., Manchester, publican.  
SIMMONS, A., Goswell-street, baker.  
SUWERKROP, J. H., University-street, St. Pancras, engineer.  
THOMAS, J. M., High-st., Shadwell, grocer.  
VINING, T. and C., Bristol, corn-factors.  
WOOD, J., Manchester, manganese, dealer.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUGUST 15.

—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English and Irish wheat; English, Irish, and foreign barley; English oats and malt; as also pulse and seeds, from all quarters, limited: of foreign wheat and rye; Irish and foreign oats: and of English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign flour, moderately good.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by London, but very thinly by country, buyers.—The trade was, throughout, very dull.—With a few small parcels of exceedingly fine wheat, as also barley, oats, peas, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's quotations; with

wheat, generally, at a depression, small English Beans, at an advance, of from 1s. to 2s. per quarier.

It is the prevailing opinion of buyers that prices will be lower.

Wheat .....	56s. to 65s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	24s. to 32s.
— fine .....	33s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	36s. to 42s.
— Boilers .....	36s. to 42s.
— Grey .....	—s. to —s.
Beans, Old .....	36s. to 42s.
— Tick .....	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	27s. to 33s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 30s.
— Feed .....	20s. to 26s.
Flour, per sack .....	50s. to 55s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 42s. to 48s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 42s. to 48s.	
Pork, India, new... 132s. 0d. to 135s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new... 65s. to 67s. 6d. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast .... 84s. to 86s. per cwt.	
— Carlow .... 84s. to 88s.	
— Cork .... 86s. to 88s.	
— Limerick ... 86s. to 88s.	
— Waterford... 80s. to 86s.	
— Dublin .... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 62s. to 80s.	
— Gloucester, Double... 64s. to 70s.	
— Gloucester, Single... 44s. to 50s.	
— Edam .... 46s. to 48s.	
— Gouda .... 44s. to 46s.	
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 60s.	

## SMITHFIELD—August 15.

This day's supply of beasts and porkers was rather limited—of sheep rather great—of lambs and calves moderately good. The trade, with prime small beef, mutton, lamb, and veal, was somewhat brisk: with each description of prime large meat, as well as that of inferior quality, and pork rather dull, at Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,510; sheep and lambs, 24,850; calves, 222; pigs, 210.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 19.

The supplies this week are fair, but in consequence of the new wheat not coming well to hand, there is a demand for old wheat. Prices the same as on Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	81½	81½	82¼	81½	81½	81½

## COBBETT-LIBRARY.

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3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

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#### PROSECUTION OF MR. COBBETT.

This day is published, third edition, price One Shilling, stitched in a wrapper,

A FULL AND ACCURATE REPORT of the TRIAL of MR. COBBETT, before Lord Tenterden and a SPECIAL Jury, July 7, 1831, with all the Documents read in Court, and a Preface, &c.

"TRIAL OF MR. COBBETT.—The Report of this Trial *ought* to be universally read, and as generally studied. In successfully resisting this abominable prosecution, Mr. COBBETT has rendered the nation a most essential service, and obtained a vast triumph for the press."—*Ballot*.

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"We hope every one will read the full account that is here presented, of the unquestionably disgraceful trial that took place before Lord Tenterden and a Special Jury, on the 7th of July last. Mr. Cobbett's defence, able, powerful, and convincing, will remain as a record of the fatuity of those instrumental in his prosecution, and of the talent and energy which distinguish his own character."—*United Kingdom*.

"We have read the corrected report of Mr. Cobbett's trial, just published, and cordially recommend its perusal to persons of all classes, for the subject of it concerns the rights and liberties of all. It was not so much a trial for libel, as a trial of strength between Cobbett and the Whigs. And public opinion recognises in the verdict of the jury, not the acquittal of Mr. Cobbett, but the conviction and condemnation of his enemies."—*Midland Representative*.

"Mr. COBBETT has slaughtered the malicious Whigs."—*Freeman's Journal*.

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WM. COBBETT.

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